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Buddhist Studies Review is the bi-annual journal of the Institut
de recherche bouddhique Linh-Sơn and the Pali Buddhist Union

ISSN 0265-2897

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Annual Subscription: Individual : £6.00
Joint or institutional : £8.00
- payable by cheque, Giro transfer (to A/C
No.52 613 4003) or international money order
to 'Buddhist Studies Review'



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Frontispiece: the calligraphy in Nôm (old Vietnamese) characters by Ven. Thích Huyền-Vi reads:

"*Śāriputra! Form is not different from emptiness, emptiness not different from form.*"

The seals engraved by Ven. Bhikkhu Dhammavīro, Thailand, convey the same meaning as the calligraphy.

UDĀNAVARGA

Chapter XII

MĀRGAVARGA - The Path

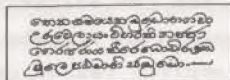
Ed: The Sanskrit original of several verses in this chapter is largely missing and the translation is therefore incomplete. For the sake of interest and comparison, and since the Tibetan is closest to the Sanskrit, we have included in italics the translation from the Tibetan by W.W. Rockhill (Udānavarga, London 1883, repr. New Delhi 1982) to fill the lacunae.

1. Whoever, with his wisdom, sees the four supreme truths, knows the Path which destroys the thirst for existence.
2. Just as dust raised by the wind is settled by rain, so misconceptions are settled when one sees with (the eyes of) wisdom.
3. Wisdom is the best thing in this world, which it penetrates, and it is due to it that the end of birth and death is known.
4. Of all paths, the eightfold is the best; of the truths, the fourfold (is the best); of all dharmas the absence of passions is the best; of all the two-footed (the best are those) [who have] eyes (to see).
5. All phenomena are impermanent. Whoever sees this with his wisdom is delivered from suffering; such is the path of purity.
6. All that is perishable ends in suffering. [He who sees this with his wisdom becomes indifferent to suffering; such is the path] of purity.

- [7.] In truth all suffering is impersonal. He who sees this with his wisdom becomes indifferent to suffering; such is the path of purity.
- [8.] Every empty thing... [original missing until next verse given].
- [7.] "All created things are empty"; when one has seen this (Tib.) through knowledge, he is no more afflicted by pain; this is the way to perfect purity.
- [9.] I have taught you that this way cuts off the pain of existence. The Tathāgata is a teacher; you yourselves must strive after (Nirvāṇa).
- [10.] I have taught you that this way removes the pain of passion. The Tathāgata is a teacher; you yourselves must strive after (Nirvāṇa).
- [11.] ... the wise... from the bond of Māra [incomplete].
- [11.] There is no other road but this one that leads to perfect enlightenment; by concentrating your mind on it you will cast off the bonds of Māra.
- [12.] This (path is) straight; this again... it is the only refuge and the right path... .
- [12.] This way is straight: it leads one to the other world; it is the one road to the ocean of purity. Śākyamuni, well composed and wise, expounds this again and again to the multitude.
- [13.] You have proclaimed the way,... the only way to the elimination of rebirth; having first crossed(?) by that single way, he causes (others) to cross... .
- [13.] Having discovered the ending of birth and death, through kindness and compassion I will teach the way, the only road. After having crossed the stream (of sin), I will teach others to cross as I have crossed.
- [14.] In order to obtain... purity and (the means) to destroy

- old-age and death; for the discerning of various elements, such is the way revealed by him who has eyes.
- [14.] The way to reach complete cessation (from existence), control, purity; the way to put an end to the recurrence of birth and death; the means of distinguishing all the dhātus: that is what he who has the eye (of wisdom) teaches by this way.
- [15.] Just as the waters of the Ganges flow towards the ocean, so this path leads towards him who teaches wisdom for the obtaining of the Deathless.
- [16.] He who, filled with compassion for all beings, turned the Wheel of the Doctrine, unknown before, [that man, who is the foremost of gods and mankind, who is] always honoured, has crossed over existence.
- [17.] Use discernment over the three conceptions which are good; on the other hand, reject the three which are bad; then you will drop conceptions and [doubts just as rain settles dust which has been raised; in truth, discernment having calmed you...] [you will enjoy unsurpassable Bodhi].
- [18.] Fasten [your mind to the three Samādhis]; in solitude, meditate on the three [sic] infinite states (aprāmāṇaya); having dispelled, by means of those three, the three attachments (ālaya), the wise man with a mature mind rejects the bonds.
19. Armed with wisdom, fortified by meditation, concentrated, delighting in absorption, mindful, he who has understood (the cause of) birth and disappearance, attains complete deliverance through wisdom.
20. It is he who everywhere attains glory and renown who, in order to acquire the Deathless, meditates on the Noble Eightfold Path, which is straight and propitious; by acting in this way he who desires happiness obtains happiness.

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WRITE TO THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY TODAY

EARLY RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WEST*

Etienne Lamotte

In the first century of the Christian era, the history of India was marked by the peaceful co-existence of several kingdoms of both local and foreign origin: in the north-west, the great Indo-Scythian empire of the Kuṣāṇas which stretched from the Caspian Sea to Vārāṇasī and from Kaśmīr to the region of Bombay; in the Deccan, the Andhra kingdom of the Śātakarnis, the Kṣaharāta kingdom of Surāṣṭra and the Śaka satrapy of Ujjayinī; to the extreme south of the peninsula, the Dravidian kingdoms of the Keralas or Ceras (Calicut and Travancore), the Pāṇḍyas (Madura region) and the Coḷas (Trichinopoly and Tanjore).

Until the end of the pre-Christian era, India had lived in isolation and had been able to assimilate without difficulty the hordes of foreign conquerors who had ventured across the north-west frontier: Graeco-Bactrians, Scythians and Parthians. She had compelled them to bow to indigenous habits and customs and inculcated her beliefs in them. At the beginning of the Christian era, the situation changed radically. The development of trade routes by land and sea brought India into daily contact with the great neighbouring civilisations of the West and the East. The trans-Iranian routes and the tracks of Central Asia were crossed by merchants; Graeco-Alexandrian ships commissioned by Roman capital regularly touched at the ports of Barbaricon, Barygaza, Sopāra and the Malabar coast; the Chinese themselves occasionally visited the settlements on the east coast. In fact, India had not sought these contacts; it was the foreigners, attracted by her wealth, who started the trading which was to intensify as the centuries passed. It was no longer possible for the Indians to remain in an isolation caused by ignorance or disdain; it was in their own interest to establish trade relations, welcome the merchants from overseas and exchange raw materials and manufactured goods as well as ideas with them. A new opportunity arose for India to make the voice of her thinkers and philosophers heard and, before showing in a study to follow to what degree she responded, we would like to examine here the possibilities which came her way, by outlining the history of the relations

which were established over the centuries between East and West¹.

During the pre-Christian era, the *peripla*, military expeditions and embassies in the direction of India were no more than voyages of exploration and discovery. Under the Roman Empire, once the routes were open and curiosity satisfied, dealings between East and West were entirely dominated by trade.

I. DISCOVERIES IN THE PRE-CHRISTIAN ERA

Scylax of Caryanda (519 B.C.). - Scylax of Caryanda in Caria was ordered by Darius to reconnoitre the marine route which links the mouths of the Indus to Egypt. Setting out from Kaspetyrus (Kāśyapapura, modern Multan near Attock), the explorer descended the Indus as far as the Arabian Sea, ran along the coasts of Makran and southern Arabia and, entering the Gulf of Aden, went up the Red Sea to Arsinoe in the Gulf of Suez². The periplus lasted for thirty months, and the length of its duration is enough to prove that the navigator, travelling with a head wind, knew nothing of the ways of the monsoon.

Alexander the Great (331-324 B.C.). - Hot in pursuit of Bessus after his victory at Gaugamela (331 B.C.), the Macedonian conqueror made use during his march of the great twisting artery which linked the Caspian Gates to the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush, passing through Herat (Haraiva or Alexandria-in-Aria), Faraz (Phrada or Prophthasia), Drangiana, the southern shore of Lake Hāmūn, the right bank of the River Hēlmand (Haetumant, Setumant, Etymander, Hermandrus), Kandahār (Harahuvati or Alexandria-in-Arachosia), Parvān (Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus or in the Paropamisadae)³. The bematists Diognetus and Baeton, who accompanied Alexander on his expedition, surveyed the route and carefully measured the distances⁴.

The revolt in Aria had prevented Alexander from returning to Bactria via the most direct route linking the Caspian Gates to the Jaxartes which passed through Bactria (Zariaspa) and terminated at Khojend (Alexandria-Eschate) on the Syr Darya. Notwithstanding, this route was also explored by his surveyors⁵.

Now lord of Bactria and Sogdiana after a campaign lasting two years (329-328 B.C.), Alexander set out to conquer India,

to his mind 'the region which extends eastwards from the Indus'⁶. He took the old highway of India connecting Bactra to Taxila across the Hindu Kush. Setting out from Bactra at the beginning of the year 327, in ten days he crossed the Afghan massif and, by way of Bāmiyān, reached the southern slopes where his settlement, Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus, present-day Parvān, was located. By three or four stages, he arrived at Lampaka where he concentrated his troops in Nicaea, a temporary encampment to be found between the villages of Mandrāwar and Chabār-bāgh. The majority of his Macedonian forces, led by Perdikkas and Hephaestion, descended the south bank of the Kōphēn (Kubhā, today the Kabul River), reprovisioned in Nagarahāra (Jelālābād), occupied Puṣkarāvati (Peucalaotis, modern Chārsadda) and reached the Indus between Udabhāṇḍa (Uṇḍ) and Amb. Alexander, who had been fighting in the upper valleys of the Kunar (Khoṣ), Swāt (Suvastu, Suastos) and Būnēr, then rejoined his lieutenants; the Macedonian army, at last regrouped, crossed the Indus by a pontoon-bridge and made peaceably for Taxila where it was welcomed by the local king Omphis (Ambhi). In Taxila began the great artery which is still used today by the Trunk Road: pointing in the direction of the south-east, it reached Mathurā on the right bank of the Yamunā, where it communicated respectively with the west coast via Ujjayinī and Bharukaccha and the east coast through Kauśāmbī, Pāṭaliputra and Tāmraliptī. Alexander, halted at the Hydaspes by the resistance of King Porus (Paurava), turned directly east and, arms in hand, crossed the great tributaries of the Indus: the Jhelum (Vitastā, Hydaspes), Chenab (Asiknī, Candrabhāgā, Acesines) and Rāvi (Paruṣnī, Irāvati, Hydraotes), and finally reached the Beas (Vipāś, Vipāsā, Hyphasis) where his troops mutinied. The route taken by Alexander as far as the Beas, with indications of the distances, was also noted by the professional surveyors⁷. All the topographical works carried out on Alexander's orders and whose starting-point was the Caspian Gates were collected and published, before the establishment of the Parthian domination of Iran, in the *Asiatikoi Stathmoi* by a certain Amyntas, who had followed Alexander on his expedition⁸.

The order to retreat was given in November 326 and the Macedonian army, reinforced by a fleet of 800 to 1,000 ships, descended the Hydaspes and the Indus to the delta of Patalene, which

Alexander explored for six months (January to July 325). The return to Susiana was made by three routes.

Craterus, who had not gone as far as the delta⁹, left, in July 325, the right bank of the Indus off Skikarpore, crossed the Mulla Pass, Quetta and Kandahār, and skirted the south bank of the Hēlmand and Lake Hāmūn; then, through the desert of Dashti-Lut and Nazretabad, he reached Galashkird in Carmania, where Alexander had preceded him¹⁰.

In the meantime Alexander, at the head of some ten thousand men, had left Patala in September 325 and set out along the Makran coast to Gedrosia. Then turning northwards, in December 325, he reached Galashkird in Carmania where Craterus and Nearchus were not long in joining him.

Nearchus, at the head of a fleet of one thousand units concentrated in the Indus Delta, had been ordered to delay his departure until the arrival of the monsoon from the north-east which breaks in October: clear proof that at that time the movement of the etesian winds was well known¹¹. However, the hostility of the local populace forced the admiral to weigh anchor on 21 September 325. He skirted the Oreite and Makran coasts and, after eighty days of eventful voyaging, in December of the same year, reached the mouth of the Anamis (Minab), in fertile Harmosia, near Hormuz. Nearchus, having placed his fleet in safety, went inland to Galashkird and rejoined Alexander and Craterus who anxiously awaited him¹². The reunion was an occasion for joyful festivities and a new Alexandria was founded. The fleet then sailed up the [Persian] Gulf and the Pasitigris and reached Susiana where, in the spring of 324, it was joined by the land army.

The Seleucids (312-64 B.C.). - After his victorious return from Babylonia, Seleucus I Nicator (312-280) set out to reconquer the eastern satrapies which had broken away from the Alexandrian empire, and his armies again travelled the routes of Iran and Bactria. The operations begun in 305 by the Diadochus [Alexander's successor] against the Indian empire of Candragupta once again drew Seleucus onto the ancient Indian route linking Bactra to Taxila, and his momentum took him to the banks of the Yamunā, possibly as far as Mathurā: we know that this campaign ended

in a compromise in the terms of which, in exchange for five hundred war-elephants, Seleucus ceded the possession of India and the greater part of Afghanistan to his rival¹³. Seleucus' interest then turned to the neighbouring countries of the Caspian Sea, the strategic and commercial importance of which did not escape him. Deodamas, the commander of Seleucus and Antiochus, identified the course of the Jaxartes, which until then had been confused with the Don¹⁴; Patrocles, governor of the northern provinces and a geographer of great authority, explored the Caspian Sea but, on the basis of misinterpreted local records, was led to claim that not only the Ochus (Tejend) but also the Oxus and Jaxartes, tributaries of the Aral Sea, flowed into the Caspian, the surface of which, according to Patrocles, equalled that of the Black Sea¹⁵. The geographer discovered, or rediscovered subsequent to Artobulos, the southern Indian trade route: at that time the Oxus, which was easily navigable, served to transport a considerable amount of merchandise from India to the Hyrcanian [Caspian] Sea; from there it rapidly reached the coast of Armenia (Azerbaijan), there to ascend the Cyrus (Kour), reach the opposite side and redescend to the Black Sea¹⁶. Finally, it seems that the maritime route skirted the coast of Gedrosia and, after being explored by Scylax and Nearchus, was occasionally used by the ships of the Diadochus. Seleucus transported, from the Indus Delta to the mouth of the Euphrates, some Indian spices for which the journey proved fatal¹⁷.

Antiochus I Soter (280-261), the son of Seleucus, himself re-explored eastern Iran and built and fortified, under the name of Antioch, Alexandria-in Margiana (Merv) and Alexandria-Eschate (Khojend [now Leninabad])¹⁸.

During the same period, the Mediterranean world was making remarkable progress in its knowledge of India as a result of the detailed and exact information supplied to it by its ambassadors who had been sent by the Diadochus to the Mauryan court. Megasthenes and Deimachus had both been sent as ambassadors to Pāṭali-putra, Megasthenes to Candragupta (313-289) and Deimachus to his son Bindusāra Amitrāghata (289-264), and they have left us records of their journeys¹⁹. In fact Megasthenes, who was attached to the person of Sibyrtilus, the satrap of Arachosia, visited Candragupta²⁰ several times and wrote the *Indika* which for centuries

remained the best, not to say the only source of information on India. His description of Pāṭaliputra, reproduced in Arrian's *Indike*²¹, is remarkably accurate, as is proved by recent excavations; moreover, the precise details supplied by Megasthenes on the Indian nation, its manners, institutions and castes²² agree with the majority of the more authoritative indications supplied by the *Kaṭṭāya-Arthaśāstra*²³, a summary of the Indian institutions whose author, or one of several, was possibly Cānakya, also known as Viṣṇugupta, a minister and counsellor of Candragupta.

What is more, Megasthenes, on behalf of Seleucus, reconnoitred and measured in *schoeni* the Royal Highway or *basilikē hodos* - in Sanskrit *rājavīthī* - which crossed India from west to east, linking the Hydaspes to the mouths of the Ganges. Pliny kept the topographical record compiled by Megasthenes and added to it corrections supplied later by other bematists: 'From the Hypasis to the River Sydrus, 169,000 paces; from there to the River Iomanes, as much (a few copies add 5 miles); from there to the Ganges, 112.5 miles; from there to Rhodapha, 569 miles (others evaluate this distance at 325 miles); from there to the town of Callinipaza, 167.5 miles (according to others, 165 miles); from there to the confluence of the Iomanes and the Ganges, 625 miles (a great many add 13.5 miles); from there to the town of Palibothra, 425 miles; from there to the mouth of the Ganges, 637.5 miles²⁴. As far as we know, the towns of Rhodapha and Callinipaza have yet to be identified; conversely, there is no difficulty in recognising the Beas in the Hypasis, the Sutlej in the Sydrus, the Yamunā (Jumna) in the Iomanes, Prayāga in the confluence of the Iomanes and Ganges, and Pāṭaliputra or Patna in Palibothra. Already by the time of the Mauryas, a great communication artery connected Taxila to Tāmraliptī, present-day Tamluk on the east coast, by way of Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Pāṭaliputra. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247), whose reign partly coincided with that of Aśoka, was represented at the Mauryan court by an ambassador with the name of Dionysius²⁵; as for the Indian emperor, it is known in which circumstances and for what purpose he sent his messengers of the Dharma to Syria, Egypt, Macedonia and Cyrenai-
ca²⁶.

The secession of the satrapy of Bactria in 250 B.C., shortly followed by the revolt of Parythene in 249, was the first blow

to Seleucid supremacy in Asia. Relations which had been maintained until then with the Indian empire became desultory: the progressive weakening of the Magadhan kingdoms under the last Mauryas and the Śūnga usurpers made them, moreover, less desirable. The attempt begun between 247 and 246 by Seleucus II Callinicus to reconquer eastern Iran failed due to the coalition of the Parthian Tiridates and the Bactrian Diodotus II²⁷. The operations carried out in Bactria, from 207 to 206, by Antiochus III the Great proved fruitless: vanquishing the Parthian Artaban, he forced his way across the Arius (Hēri-rūd) and blockaded Euthydemus of Magnesia in his stronghold at Zariaspa (Charjui); however, after two years of investment, the Epigonus eventually treated with his rival and raised the siege in order to return to Syria by taking the route through the Hindu Kush - Bactra, Bāmiyān and Parvān - then the tracks in Arachosia and Carmania which had previously been used by Craterus²⁸.

The defeats inflicted by the Romans on Antiochus III, at Thermopylae (191), Corycus and Magnesia-under-Sipylos (190), tolled the knell for Seleucid power in Asia. The Parthian rulers profited from this to consolidate their kingdom and enlarge it at the expense of Syria, henceforth cut off from all contact with India. In 138 Mithridates I defied Demetrius II Nicator and took him prisoner; in 128 his son Phraates II killed Antiochus VII Sidetes in combat. When Syria was annexed by Pompey to the Republican States (64 B.C.), the Arsacid Parthians continued to oppose any extension of the new Roman province to the east; in 53 B.C. the Suren of Orodes I bested the legions of the triumvir Crassus at Carrhae (Harran); more than twenty thousand Roman soldiers perished on the battlefield, ten thousand prisoners were taken in captivity to Merv, and the head of Crassus was transported to Artaxata and cast at the feet of King Orodes and his son Pacorus during a performance of the *Bacchantes* by Euripides. From 51 to 38, the Parthian armies commanded by Osaces and Pacorus invaded Roman Syria up to three times, finally to be repulsed at Gindarus (Jindaris in northern Syria) by General Ventidius Bassus. However, when [Mark] Antony, in the year 36 B.C., proceeded to the Euphrates under the pretext of revenging the affront meted out to the corpse of Crassus seventeen years previously, Phraates IV, the son and successor of Orodes, inflicted a bloody

defeat on him at the battle of Phraata (Takht-i-Sulemein) in Atropatene²⁹.

The incessant wars kept up by the Parthians at the end of the pre-Christian era against Seleucid Syria and the Roman Republic considerably slowed trade overland between India and the Mediterranean West; however, the growing progress of Alexandrian navigation under the Ptolemies of Egypt maintained contact between the two continents.

The Ptolemies (323-30 B.C.). - Under the first Lagidae, Ptolemy I Soter (323-285), Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246) and Ptolemy III Euergetes, Graeco-Egyptian ships attached to the port of Alexandria still went no further than to explore the Red Sea and reconnoitre the Arabian coast as far as Bab-al Mandeh and the shores of the Somalis to the west of Cape Guardafui, initiating exchanges with the Sabaeen Arabs of the Yemen and the local Ethiopians. However Euergetes, whose victory over the Seleucids briefly gave him possession of Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Susiana, sent ships to re-explore the [Persian] Gulf, from the Euphrates to India. Without leaving the Gulf, however, this fleet sailed before the wind in the direction of Al Qatar then skirted the 'Pirate Coast' as far as Cape Maketa, modern Ras Masandan³⁰.

In the reign of Ptolemy VIII, known as Euergetes II Physcon (145-116), coastguards on the [Persian] Gulf discovered a half-dead stranger on a shipwrecked boat. He was taught Greek and, when he could speak it, the shipwrecked man explained that he had set out from India but, having gone astray and seen all his companions perish from hunger, he had been cast onto the Egyptian coast. He agreed, should the king intend to send an expedition to India, to act as guide. Euergetes II immediately equipped a ship, the command of which he entrusted to a certain Euxodus, who had come from Cyzicus to Alexandria as a *theoros* and *spondophorus* of the Choreian games. Euxodus therefore left with rich gifts for India from where he soon returned with a full lading of perfumes and precious gems, which Euergetes quickly acquired for himself. Some time later, Queen Cleopatra, the sister and widow of the king, sent Eudoxus back to India with greater resources; while returning, the explorer was carried off by the monsoon to the south of Cape Guardafui and stranded in Ethiopia. He col-

lected valuable information of a geographic and linguistic nature on that country and acquired a fragment of prow engraved with the effigy of a horse: the ship from which that piece of wreckage came had probably belonged to navigators from the West who had ventured too far beyond the Lixus (Oued Draa on the southern frontier of Morocco). Back in Egypt, Eudoxus was once again frustrated of his gains and Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, the son of Cleopatra, seized his cargo. Nonetheless, the explorer wanted to return to India, this time on his own account and by circumnavigating Africa to the west: setting out from Alexandria, he called at Dicaerchia (Puteoli) in Italy, Massilia (Marseilles) in Gaul and Gades (Cadiz) in Spain; from there he sailed before the wind out to sea, the Cape to his south. Wrecked on the coast which he hugged too closely, he built a pentecontor out of the remains of his ship and continued on his way until a point where he encountered peoples who obviously spoke the same language as the one whose vocabulary he had recorded on his previous voyage. He believed himself to be south of Cape Guardafui when in reality he was in Morocco. Wishing to obtain some larger ships before sailing on for India, he abandoned the expedition and went back. The ventures of Eudoxus, first narrated by the geographer Posidonius (born c. 135 B.C.), were repeated by Strabo³¹ who criticises them point by point and rejects the whole story as 'A tale in the style of Antiphanes'. Nevertheless, our geographers gladly give some credit to the peregrinations of Eudoxus while remarking that the record does not supply any precise details on India, the object of the voyage, and that his vague definition of it lacks accuracy.

Under Ptolemy XII Auletes (80-51), Greek adventurers set foot on the island of Socotra, formerly called *dvīpa Sukhādāra* 'the Happiness-bearing Island', but to which they gave the name of Dioscorides. Socotra, located on the route to India off Cape Syagrus (Ras Fartak), was still too far from the departure bases and the new colonists immediately fell under the domination of the Arabs of the Hadhramaut³². At the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, that is about the first century of the Christian era, the island was still inhabited by Arabs, Indians and Greeks. Thrusting their reconnoitres further along the Arabian coast, the Graeco-Alexandrian navigators learned that Acila, pre-

sent day Ras as-Hadd, situated at the eastern extreme of southern Arabia, constituted an important emporium of the Sabaeen Scenites and that it was an embarkation-point for India³³; nevertheless, the hostility of the local inhabitants prevented foreigners from using this port.

II. TRADE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Relative peace in the East. The constitution of the Roman Empire and the policy of peace initiated in the East initiated by Augustus had most favourable results on the development of large-scale trade. The incessant hostilities which had formerly opposed the Parthians to the Romans lessened and long periods of peace, often continuing for several decades, cleared the way to Iran and India for merchants and navigators. After the victory of Actium (30 B.C.), Augustus became closer to the Parthian King Phraates IV (37-2 B.C.) and gave him his youngest son to keep as a hostage; in exchange, Phraates formally returned the eagles and standards of Crassus' legions to the Romans (20 B.C.). Phraates, wishing to demonstrate his confidence in Augustus, had his four sons educated in Rome. The king of the Persians was to die of poison through the manoeuvres of his own wife Musa, a slave of Italian origin, and of his son Phraates. The latter mounted the throne in the year 2 B.C. where he remained until 9 A.C. without Rome raising any objections. When Phraates was overthrown by a palace revolution, Augustus, at the request of the Iranian nobility, sent to Persia the eldest son of Phraates IV who assumed the crown in the year 9 under the name of Vonones I (9-11 A.C.). However, the Roman education the young prince had received displeased his compatriots who exiled him to Syria and replaced him by a nobleman of Hyrcanian origin, Artaban III, who ruled from the years 11 to 43. The new sovereign was on generally friendly terms with Augustus and Tiberius. The Roman emperors had understood that Iran, over de-centralised and sapped by dynastic quarrels, did not constitute any danger and there was no point in dealing with it except defensively: Persia occupied a key position on the great routes of communication and could at will stop or favour intercontinental trade. From the military point of view, imperial objectives were strictly limited

to the maintenance of the Roman protectorate over Armenia and the occupation of the strongholds in Mesopotamia.

Under Tiberius (14-37), Germanicus, who was named as commandant of the eastern province, established a client-state of Rome in Armenia (17), without provoking any reaction from the Persians. However, in 36 Vitellus, the governor of Syria, found it desirable to depose Artaban III and replace him on the throne of Seleucia with a rival, Tiridates III. The event ended in the triumph of Artaban, who returned victoriously to the capital, and Seleucia was lost to the Hellenic cause.

Under Nero (54-68), the Parthian King Vologeses I (51-78) won Armenia from the Romans and installed his brother Tiridates there. Vanquished by General Domitius Corbulo, he nevertheless obtained an honourable peace in the terms of which his brother would continue to govern Armenia but receive his crown from the hands of Nero. The ceremony took place in the year 66 at Rome, to which the emperor proceeded with great pomp. He was planning, in agreement with the Parthians, to make an expedition to the Caucasus and the heart of Asia when death put an end to his project.

Some fifty years later, Trajan (97-117), wanting to seize Armenia from the hands of Osroes or Khosrau (107-130), disembarked at Antioch and, in the course of two campaigns (115-116), took Ctesiphon and conquered the major part of the Parthian empire. However, while he was exploring the 'Erythraean Sea', near the [Persian] Gulf, the country rebelled. Once the revolt was quelled Trajan, having returned to Ctesiphon, placed the diadem on the head of Parthamaspates, the son of Osroes. Illness prevented him from consolidating his conquests and he died in August 117 on the way home, at Selinus in Sicily. However, in 123 his successor Hadrian (117-138) concluded peace with Persia and the boundary of the Roman Empire was, once again, extended to the Euphrates. Hostilities recommenced when Vologeses III (148-191) set his brother Pacorus on the throne of Armenia. Emperor Lucius Verus, co-regent of Marcus Aurelius, led the war for four years (162-165) with great success: vanquisher at Europos, he razed the palace of Ctesiphon and burnt Seleucia. It would have been worse for the Persian kingdoms had it not been

for a plague which decimated the Roman legions and forced them to retreat before they could spread throughout the empire. Again in 197, Septimus Severus (193-211) marched against Vologeses IV (191-208) who threatened the stronghold of Nisibis in Mesopotamia; Babylonia was conquered and Ctesiphon laid waste. The Persians were not long in recovering: the last Arsacid, Artaban V (213-227), despite the intrigues of his rival Vologeses, was able to inflict crushing defeats (217-218) on the emperor Macrinus and impose heavy war tributes on him. Finally, in 226, the Parthian empire of the Arsacids collapsed under the attack of the Persian Ardashir who inaugurated the Sassanid dynasty in Iran. The new kingdom was to endure until 651 and present a more formidable threat to the decadent Roman Empire than the Parthians.

Eviction of the Arab danger. - From the beginnings of the Roman Empire, the caravan towns located on the border of Parthian and Roman power, such as Damascus, Palmyra, Petra, etc., enjoyed a period of increased prosperity. However, the safety of commercial trade was threatened by the Himyarite and Sabaeen Arabs who ransomed the caravans and controlled navigation on the coasts of the Hejaz, Asir, Yemen, Hadhramaut and Oman. Augustus resolved to make them see reason. A Roman expedition organised with the concurrence of the Egyptians, Jews and Nabataean Arabs from Petra was entrusted to Aelius Gallus. Setting out from Cleopatra in the Gulf of Suez in the year 25 B.C., it crossed the Red Sea, disembarked at El Haura, pushed across the Nejd and Asir as far as the frontiers of the Yemen and Hadhramaut. Aelius Gallus, launched in pursuit of an elusive enemy, wandered in the desert for more than six months and ended by reembarking at Acre in order to regain the west shore of the Red Sea at Myos Hormos³⁴. In about the year 1, Isodorus of Charax, commissioned by Augustus and with the authorisation of the Parthians, explored both shores of the [Persian] Gulf, and this reconnaissance probably led to a raid on Arabia Felix [the Yemen] as well as the sack of Aden 'by Caesar'³⁵.

Freed from the threat made on their expeditions by the pillaging Arabs, the Graeco-Alexandrian merchants, financed by Roman money, intensified trade between the West and the East, a trade

which was hardly interrupted by the hostilities which broke out at regular intervals between Rome and Ctesiphon. Goods were transported by land and sea, and the length of the regular routes was accurately reconnoitred and described in numerous works placed at the disposal of travellers, such as for example the *Geographica* of Strabo, the *Stathmoi Parthikoi* by Isodorus of Charax, the *Periplus of the Inner Sea* by Menippus of Pergamum, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* by an anonymous pilot, etc.

The Silk Road. - Internal trade was carried out along the Silk Road³⁶, reconnoitred in the first century by agents of the Graeco-Syrian Maes Titianus. The information they collected was published in about the year 100 A.C. by the geographer Marinus of Tyre and reproduced a century later in the *Geographia* of Claudius Ptolemaeus (128-170 A.C.)³⁷. The Silk Road, linking the 30° and 105° meridians, started at Antioch, the capital of Roman Asia, and ended in Lo-yang, the capital of China; the route was divided into two parts of basically equal length: the western section, from the Euphrates crossing to the Stone Tower, and the eastern section from the Stone Tower to China.

Starting at Antioch on the Orontes, the Silk Road crossed the Euphrates at Heirapolis (Menbij) and entered the Parthian kingdom. From there it crossed Ecbatana (Hamadan), Rhagae (Rayy, near modern Tehran), the Caspian Gates, Hecatompylos (Charhūd) and Antioch in Margiana (Merv). Then, entering the Kušāna kingdom, it intersected the important communication junction of Bactra (Skt. Bāhli), the capital of Bactria (Skt. Tukhārasthāna) and, continuing eastward, reached, at the foot of the Komedaï mountains, the Stone Tower (Gk. Lithinos Pyrgos, Skt. Kabhanda), present-day Taš Kurgān in the Pamirs. It was there that the Levantine merchants exchanged their goods for bales of silk from China.

On its eastern section, which was particularly frequented by Serindian and Chinese caravans, the Silk Road reached Kāšgar (Skt. Khaśa) where it subdivided into two tracks which ran respectively through the south and north parts of Chinese Turkestan.

The southern route, the oldest to be used, crossed Yārkand (Arghan), Khotan (Kustana), Niya and Miran, eventually to reach the Serindian kingdom of Lou-lan, later Shan-shan, in the region

of Lop-Nor³⁸.

The northern track, skirting the Tarim Basin to the north, passed through Uč Turfān (Hecyuka), Aksu (Bharuka), Kučā (Kuci), Karāšar (Agni), Turfān, Hami, the Jade Gate and finally Tunhuang, where it rejoined the southern route³⁹.

The Silk Road then entered China proper, continuing through Chiu-ch'uan, Chang-yeh, Ch'ang-an (present-day Sian or Xian) and ended at the Han capital Lo-yang (modern Luo-yang).

At Bactra the Silk Road was intersected perpendicularly by another artery linking the capital of Turkestan with Sogdiana to the north and India to the south.

Leaving Bactra, the route to Sogdiana crossed the Oxus (Vak-su), passed through the Iron Gates and reached Samarkand (Maracanda), the capital of Sogdiana (Sūlī). Describing a huge arc circling Ferghāna, it crossed the Jaxartes, passed through Taškent and, traversing the Land of a Thousand Streams, reached the town of Aksu through the T'ien-shan massif⁴⁰.

The old Indian highway⁴¹ which also began in Bactra ran south to the high peaks of the Hindu Kush and, through the passes of Kara-Kotal (2,840 m.), Dandān Shikan (2,690 m.), Ak Robāt (3,215 m.), Shibar (2,985 m.), as well as the valleys of Ghorband and Kabul, arrived at the Indus which it crossed in order to reach Taxila. The main halting-places on the Bactra-Taxila section, which was some 700 km long, were: Bāmiyān (Persian Bāmīkan), Kāpiśī (Begram), Nagarahāra (Jelālābād), Puṣkarāvātī (Chārsadda), Udabhāṇḍa (Uṇḍ on the Indus) and, finally, Takṣaśilā⁴². The ancient highway diverged considerably from the modern Trunk Road which, starting in Mazar-e-Sharif or Khanabad, passes through Bāmiyān (or Salang), Kabul, Peshāwar and Attock, ending at Rawalpindī. In Takṣaśilā, the Indian highway curved south, reaching Mathurā on the right bank of the Yamunā, a tributary of the Ganges. Mathurā communicated with the west coast via Ujjayinī and Bharukaccha, and with the east coast through Kauśāmbī, Pāṭaliputra and Tāmraliptī. A transverse track linked Ujjayinī, the chief town of Avanti, with Kauśāmbī, the Vatsa capital.

To the east of the old Bactra-Taxila artery, the obligatory route for any expedition of importance, began the mountainous tracks which connected India more closely with Kaśgaria and Kho-

tan. We will describe only three of them here⁴³:

1. The Chitral trail mounting the course of the Kunar and communicating with Chinese Turkestan through the Baroghil Pass and the Wakhjir Pass.

2. The Gilgit route across the great Himalaya and Karakorum mountains (6,000 km. as the crow flies). Starting out from Srinagar in Kaśmīr, it traversed Bandipur, the Rajingan Pass (3,590 m.), Gurez, the Burzil Pass (4,188 m.), Godhai, Astor, Bunji, Gilgit, Misgar, the Kilik Pass (4,750 m.), Mintaka, Taš Kurgān (3,210 m.), the Ullong Pabst Pass (4,230 m.), finally ending in Kašgar (1,300 m.)⁴⁴.

3. The route via Leh, also beginning in Srinagar and linking the capital of Kaśmīr with the southern Tarim Basin. Crossing Leh in Little Tibet, it traversed the high passes of the Ladakh Range, the Karakorum and Kun-lun mountains, rejoining Chinese Turkestan between Yarkand and Khotan. Since it reached altitudes of 6,000 m., it was only practicable in summer.

The Silk Road and the secondary tracks did not serve exclusively for the transport of merchandise but were used also, as were the maritime routes at the same time, by the Chinese and Indian ambassadors to reach their diplomatic posts. In 138 B.C., the Han emperor Wu-ti sent his envoy Chang Ch'ien to the Greater Yueh-chih of Sogdiana and Bactria in order to conclude an alliance with them against the Hsiung-nu⁴⁵. In 97 A.C., the Chinese general Pan Ch'ao, who had just pacified Serindia, sent his lieutenant Kan Ying to open relations with the Arsacid Parthians and the Roman Empire of Nerva; however, overawed by the length of the route, he only partly accomplished his mission and turned back in Parthia without going as far as Ta-ch'in⁴⁶. The Indians and Scythians, of whom we know only the name, spontaneously sent ambassadors to Augustus to seek his friendship and that of the Roman people. One of these ambassadors sent by Pandion or Porus presented the emperor with rich gifts, and an Indian sophist who was included, Zarmanochegas or Zarmanus of Bargaosa (Bharukaccha), repeating the spectacle presented earlier by Calanus to Alexander, burnt himself in Athens in 21 B.C.⁴⁷. In the reign of Claudius, between 41 and 54, a freedman having been carried by the monsoon to Taprobane, the king of Ceylon sent

to Claudius in return an embassy led by a certain Rachias (rājān?) who supplied Pliny with information on the great island⁴⁸. In the year 99 an embassy from the king of India, doubtless Wima Kadphises, arrived in Rome at the moment when Trajan was returning after his brilliant victory over the Dacae. Seated with the senators, the Indian envoys witnessed the emperor's triumph. At the end of the reign of Hadrian (117-138), the kings of the Bactrians - undoubtedly the Kuṣāṇa sovereigns of the North-West - sent him legates to seek his friendship⁴⁹. In 138, during his accession, Antonius Pius (138-161) also received Indians, Bactrians and Hyrcanians who came, once again, to offer an alliance⁵⁰. Finally, between the years 218 and 222, the Babylonian historian Bardesanes was able to confer, at Emesa in Syria, with Dandamis, an envoy sent on an embassy to the emperor Elagabalus⁵¹.

(To be concluded)

* This article was originally published under the title of 'Les premières relations entre l'Inde et l'Occident' in *La Nouvelle Clío*, V, 1-4 (1953), *Mélanges Albert Carnoy*, pp.83-118. Translated from the French by Sara Boin-Webb with most grateful appreciation to the Council of the Buddhist Society, London, for generous financial aid.

Ed. Since this essay was first published many of the place names, particularly Indian ones, have changed, but we have not tried to update them all as this would add further to the already long lists. Also a vast literature has grown up around many of the topics discussed by Lamotte but space precludes the insertion of all the relevant additions to the bibliography. However, the following two items warrant mention by virtue of their incorporating major themes featured in the author's own work:

Jean W. Sedlar *India and the Greek World. A Study in the Transmission of Culture*, Totowa, New Jersey 1980.

Irene M. Franck and David M. Brownstone *The Silk Road. A History*. New York 1986.

See also, of course, the updated bibliography in E. Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, translated from the French by Sara Boin-Webb, Publications de L'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 36, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988.

(Notes follow)

NOTES

¹ The most valuable information is provided by the Greek and Roman geographers and naturalists. Main sources are the *Geographica* of Strabo (65 B.C.-20 A.C.), *Naturalis Historia*, XXXVII libri, by Pliny the Elder (23-79 A.C.), *De Chorographia*, III libri, by Pomponius Mela (post 44 A.C.), *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* by an unknown author of disputed date (end of the first century?), *Geographia* of Ptolemy (c.100-179 A.C.), *Historia Romana* of Dio Cassius (post 229 A.C.) etc.

Among the long lists of surveys, noteworthy are H.G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World... to the Fall of Rome*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1926; E.H. Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge 1928; M. Cary and E. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, Cambridge 1929; and, more recently, J. Filliozat, 'Les échanges de l'Inde et de l'Empire romain aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne', *Revue historique*, Jan-Mar 1949, pp.1-29.

² Herodotus, IV 44; cf. III, 102.

³ For details of the itinerary followed by Alexander in Asia see W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 2 vol., Cambridge 1948.

⁴ Strabo, XI, 8, 9; XV, 2, 8; Pliny, VI, 61.

⁵ Strabo, XI, 8, 9; Pliny, VI, 45.

⁶ Arrian, *Indike*, II, 1: *Τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πρὸς ἡμ. τοῦτο μοι ἔστω ἢ τῶν Ἰνδῶν γῆ.*

⁷ Strabo, XV, 1, 26-28; XV, 2, 8; Pliny, VI, 62.

⁸ Strabo, XV, 2, 8; XV, 1, 11; Athenaeus, XI, 102, 500 d; XII, 39, 529 e; II, 74, 67 a; X, 59, 442 b; XII, 9, 514 f; Aelianus, *De Natura Animalium*, XVII, 17; V, 14.

⁹ Arrian, *Anabasis*, VI, 15, 7.

¹⁰ Arrian, *Anabasis*, VI, 3; Strabo, XV, 2, 11.

- 11 Arrian, *Indike*, XXI, 1.
- 12 Arrian, *Anabasis*, VI, 28; *Indike*, XXXIII, 1-4; XXXV, 2-8; XXXVI, 3.
- 13 Strabo, XV, 2, 9; Pliny, VI, 49; Appian, *Syriaca*, 55; Justin, XV, 4; Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri*, 62; Atheneaus, I, 18 d.
- 14 Pliny, VI, 49.
- 15 Strabo, XI, 7, 1; XI, 11, 5.
- 16 Strabo, XI, 7, 3.
- 17 Pliny, XVI, 135.
- 18 Strabo, XI, 10, 2; Pliny, VI, 47.
- 19 Strabo, VI, 1, 9.
- 20 Arrian, *Anabasis*, V, 6, 2.
- 21 Arrian, *Indike*, X, 2 ff; cf. L.A. Waddell, *Discovery of the Exact Site of Pataliputra*, Calcutta 1892; *Arch.Surv. Rep.*, 1912-13, 1926-27; B.C. Law, *The Magadhas of Ancient India*, London 1946, pp.38-41.
- 22 *Indike*, VII-XI.
- 23 *The Kautilya Arthashastra*, ed. Ganapati Śāstri, 3 vol., Trivandrum 1921-25. For a comparison with the *Indike*, cf. O. Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya*, Vienna, 1921; S. Konow, *Kautilya Studies*, Oslo 1945.
- 24 Pliny, VI, 63.
- 25 Pliny, VI, 58.
- 26 Thirteenth Rock Edict: cf. J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris 1950, p.130.
- 27 Justin, XLI, 4, 1-5.
- 28 Polybius, X, 29 ff, 49 ff; XI, 34; Justin, XLI, 5, 7.

- 29 For historical details, see C. Huart and L. Delaporte, *L'Iran Antique*, Paris, 1943, pp.322 ff; R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran dès Origines à L'Islam*, Paris 1951, pp.917 ff, 220 ff.
- 30 Pliny, IX, 6; cf. XII, 76.
- 31 Strabo, II, 3, 4-5.
- 32 Pliny, VI, 153; *Periplus*, 30; Cosmas Indicopleustes, III, 169 b.
- 33 Pliny, VI, 151.
- 34 Strabo, XVI, 4, 22-23; XVII, 1, 54; Pliny, VI, 160-2; Dio Cassius, LIII, 29; Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII, 705.
- 35 Isodorus of Charax, LXXX ff; *Periplus*, 26.
- 36 On the Silk Road, see A. Hermann, *Die alten Seidenstrasse zwischen China und Syrien, Quellen und Forsch. z. alten Gesch. u. Geogr.*, Berlin 1910, 'Die Seidenstrassen von China nach dem römischen Reich', *Mitt. Geog. Ges.*, Vienna 1915, p.472; 'Die alten chinesischen Karten von Zentralasien und Westasien', in *Festschrift für Fr. Hirth*, Berlin 1920, p.185; *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Licht der Antike*, I, Leipzig 1938; H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkistan*, Sitz. Pr. Akad. d. Wiss., Berlin 1930, p.17; P. Pelliot, *La Haute Asie*, and, as an appendix, 'Explorations et Voyages dans la Haute Asie', Paris 1931; R. Grousset, etc., *L'Asie Orientale dès Origines au XVe siècle*, Paris 1949, p.198; *L'Empire des Steppes*, Paris 1939, p.78.
- 37 Ptolemy, *Geographia*, I, 11, 5-7, 12.
- 38 The southern track was especially reconnoitred between 1900 and 1915 by Sir Aurel Stein, who gave an account of his work in the book by Sir John Cunningham, *Revealing India's Past*, London 1939, p.152.
- 39 The northern route was the object of several academic expeditions, among which should be mentioned the French Pelliot-Vaillant mission (1906-8), the German expeditions to Turfan (1902-14), the geographical survey by Sven Hedin

(1927-9) and the Citroën mission (1931). Among other publications, see E. Waldschmidt, *Gandhāra, Kutscha, Turfan*, Leipzig 1925.

40 This was the route followed from east to west by Hsüan-tsang at the beginning of the seventh century A.C.; cf. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in China*, London 1904; R. Grousset, *Sur les traces du Bouddha*, Paris 1929.

41 See a geographical, archaeological and historical survey of this important route for civilisation by A. Foucher, *La Vieille Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, 2 vol., Paris 1942-7, in which the eminent author gives full details of the results of his long labours and the many excavations carried out by the French archaeological delegation in Afghanistan.

42 On this important town, the capital of western Punjab, see Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vol., Cambridge 1951.

43 Cf. J. Hackin, 'L'Art indien et l'art iranien en Asie Centrale', in *Histoire Universelle des Arts* ed. L. Reau, IV: *Arts Musulmans-Extrême Orient*, Paris 1939, p.256.

44 The track was taken in 1931 by the India Group of the third Citroën mission; cf. G. Le Fèvre, *La Croisière jaune*, Paris 1932, map and altimetric cross-section, pp.162 and 181.

45 É. Chavannes, *Che ki*, I, p.lxxi: the chronology is debatable.

46 É. Chavannes, 'Heou-Man chou', *T'oung Pao*, 1907, pp.159 and 217.

47 Strabo, XV, 1, 4; XV, 1, 73; Dio Cassius, LIV, 9; Suetonius, *Vita Augusti*, 21; Horace, *Carmen saeculare*, 55 ff; *Odes*, I, 12, 56; IV, 14, 41-43.

48 Pliny, VI, 84-85.

49 *Scriptores historiae Augustae*, Aelii Spartiani, *Hadrianus*, I, 21, 14.

50 Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, XV, 4; Appian, *Praef.*, 7.

51 Porphyry, *Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων*, IV, 17, citing Bardesanes.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HĪNAYĀNA AND MAHĀYĀNA IN THE LAST CHAPTER, 'PARINDANĀ', OF THE TA-CHIH-TU LUN (MAHĀPRAJÑĀPĀRAMITOPADEŚA)*

Hubert Durt

The present paper is related to several projects which are now under way on the *Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*¹, the *magnum opus* of Etienne Lamotte (1903-83). The first volume was published in 1944 and the last, the fifth, in 1980. As is well known, Prof. Lamotte translated from Kumārajīva's Chinese version called Ta-chih-tu lun (Taishō, XXV, 1509), the first part of the Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa or -śāstra, a huge commentary, attributed to Nāgārjuna on the Sūtra on the Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 ślokas (Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra). After Kumārajīva, who seems to have enriched with added explanations the original Upadeśa or 'Exegetical Treatise', Lamotte himself added to his translation comprehensive introductions and detailed annotations. It has often been said that such a work needed an index: this index is presently being compiled in Japan and will be based on Lamotte's Sanskrit reconstruction of words. An English translation of Lamotte's French version of the Ta-chih-tu lun is also in preparation.

The presentation of the Ta-chih-tu lun as a commentary on the Pañcaviṃśati may be somewhat misleading. In an important review of the *Traité*, Paul Demiéville² pointed out that the 500 pages of the second volume of Lamotte's work commented on only fourteen lines of the Pañcaviṃśati in the edition of the Sanskrit text by Nalinaksha Dutt³. It was, as Prof. Demiéville said, 'un record d'exégèse'. In fact, the disproportion between the Pañcaviṃśati's text and commentary is not so extreme in the second part of the Ta-chih-tu lun, which consists of eighty-nine chapters which, with the exception of the twentieth chapter⁴, have not yet been translated into any European language.

The incomplete edition of a recast version⁵ of the opening chapter of the Pañcaviṃśati by N. Dutt corresponds to the first twenty-six chapters of the Ta-chih-tu lun. Its continuation,

Chapters 2 and 3 edited by Takayasu Kimura, corresponds to Chapters 27 - 43 of the Ta-chih-tu lun. The first part of this edition (corresponding to Chapters 27 - 38 of the Ta-chih-tu lun) had already been published in five issues of the *Taishō Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* between 1971 and 1978. Even if we do not yet have access to a printed edition of the last part of the Sūtra, there are many similarities between the long versions of the Prajñāpāramitāsūtras, the Pañcaviṃśati and the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, especially as regards the chapter studied here. Therefore, it is quite possible to make an approximate Sanskrit reconstruction of the part of the Pañcaviṃśati which is commented upon in the last chapter of the Ta-chih-tu lun (T 1509 c 753c28 - 756c8).

The huge compendium constituted by the Ta-chih-tu lun, also called Ta lun, 'Great Treatise', has been utilized by Chinese, Korean and Japanese Buddhists from an early age more as an 'Encyclopaedia of Mahāyāna Buddhism', to borrow the words of Ryukan Kimura⁷, than as a commentary upon the most commonly used of the Prajñāpāramitāsūtras: the Pañcaviṃśati, generally known in the Chinese tradition as the 'Large Division' (Ta p'in). At an early date, but probably after its translation by Kumārajīva in the first years of the fifth century A.C., the Ta-chih-tu lun was divided into several chapters⁸, among which two bear the name of *chu-lei*, 'entrusting', which corresponds to the Sanskrit *parīdanā*, 'bestowal'. These are Chapters 66 and 90, and the latter concludes the Ta-chih-tu lun.

Chapter 66 is the Bestowal on Ānanda of what seems to be an addition made in several Prajñāpāramitāsūtras: the Akśobhya-parivarta. This 'Chapter of Akśobhya', which in some cases is immediately added to an earlier Bestowal text⁹, seems to Prof. Hikata¹⁰ to reflect faith in Akśobhya Tathāgata at one of the early stages of evolution of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The two chapters relating to the entrusting of the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra to Ānanda have very few points in common. Their commentaries in the Ta-chih-tu lun are also completely different. It is obvious that the second Bestowal (*chu-lei*) chapter, if only by its position as the last chapter of the huge Ta-chih-tu lun, had to be shaped as a kind of conclusion to the *Treatise*. Both of the Bestowal chapters, as is the case with other chapters in this exegetical treatise, take the form of a series of questions and answers.

There are ten questions in Chapter 66 and fourteen in Chapter 90, which will be studied here.

Before describing the contents of the commentarial part of Chapter 90, I shall summarize the section on bestowal in the Parīdanā Chapter of the Pañcaviṃśati. I will follow the Chinese version of the Sūtra (T 223 xxxvii 423c21-424a13) translated by Kumārajīva, which is identical to its quotation in the Ta-chih-tu lun (T 1509 c 753c29-754a19). Of the other Chinese translations of the Pañcaviṃśati, the account of the bestowal is very similar in Moksala's version (T 221 xx 146c9-28), but is absent from the translations by Dharmarakṣa (T 222) and by Hsüan-tsang (T 220). The account translated by Kumārajīva is also close to the Sanskrit text of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitāsūtra¹¹.

The bestowal account starts with a question by the Buddha to Ānanda intending to reassess their respective qualifications as Master or Teacher and as Disciple. Thereafter, the Buddha, while making the threefold proclamation of bestowal, gives final recommendations on the duties of a disciple: serve the Buddha and, after his decease, serve the Prajñāpāramitā without losing anything of its content and without cutting off the transmission to followers. People honouring the Prajñāpāramitā will obtain the triple advantage of seeing the Buddha, listening to his Doctrine and being among his familiars. The chapter ends by expressing the joy of those who received that preaching: Bodhisattvas led by Maitreya, disciples among whom are listed first Subhūti, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and, after other names, Ānanda, and finally heavenly beings.

These few sentences at the very end of an important sūtra seem too modest. We should keep in mind that the bestowal of a Mahāyāna sūtra is mostly a way of legitimizing the text of the sūtra and is thus a postscript. We can say that the true conclusion of the Pañcaviṃśati and of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā has to be located in the chapter preceding the Parīdanā. In those chapters, we recognize a model episode inspired by the famous meeting between the youth Sumedha and the Buddha Dīpaṃkara¹², but events take a more dramatic turn. We witness the Bodhisattva Sadāprarupita's twofold sacrifice¹³ of his own body to honour his teacher, the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata. The sacrifice of a

Bodhisattva's own body is a culminating episode of several Mahāyāna sūtras: the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (Chap.22: Bhaisajyarāja), the Suvarṇaprabhāsa (Chap.19: Vyāghrī), the Samādhirāja (Chap.23: Kṣemadatta) and the Kāraṇapundarikā (Chap.5 on the Gift)¹⁴. Here these two dramatic scenes had to give emphasis to an ultimate exposition of the main tenet of the Prajñāpāramitā teaching, its theory of emptiness.

More interesting than the short Parīdanā account of the Pañcaviṃśatī is the Ta-chih-tu lun's commentary upon it. We might expect in the last chapter of the *Treatise* a definitive explanation of what is the most recurrent theme of the work: the *bhūtakoti*, i.e. that the true character of things is their absence of character¹⁵. However, even if, as we shall see, many doctrinal points explained previously appear incidentally in the final chapter, we can say that the Ta-chih-tu lun ends with a new presentation of the difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.

We already know the point of view held on that question by the Nāgārjunian author of the *Treatise*. It has been made clear in that part of the work which has been translated and commented upon by Lamotte, and also through the comprehensive study made on the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra by Venkata Ramanan¹⁶. Nevertheless, the last chapter of the Ta-chih-tu lun has the merit of giving us a manifold and contrasted presentation of the two positions. Following its habit, there is a sequence of fourteen questions somewhat dialectically arranged. As the subject is important, I shall summarize in succession these questions and their answers. A first series (1-6) concerns only the act of entrusting the Sūtra; a second series, itself divided into two groups (7-10 and 11-13), closely follows the text of the short Parīdanā of the Pañcaviṃśatī. The fourteenth and last question, the most extensively treated, constitutes a re-examination of the canonical tradition.

The first question deals with a general problem: does not the bestowal of a sūtra constitute a case of craving? The answer is that, although the Buddha has cut off any attachment to dharma, on the one hand, until his Parinirvāṇa he did not abandon his great benevolence and compassion towards living beings and,

on the other hand, he is still somewhat unsure about the preparedness of Ānanda.

With the second question we enter the main subject: why bestow the Prajñāpāramitā on a Śrāvaka, a listener, like Ānanda and not on a Bodhisattva such as Maitreya? For a justification of the choice of Ānanda, the author of the *Treatise* reverts to a few points of what was considered the objective history of early Buddhism. Ānanda is presented as the *upasthāyaka*, the attendant of the Buddha, endowed with the capacity to memorize (*dhāraṇī*) his teachings and able to diffuse them widely. He is called here the 'Third Master', apparently after the Buddha himself and Śāriputra, whose premature death, mentioned here, seems to be one of those historical facts which can be discerned in the Buddhist tradition among a magma of legendary accretions. On the other hand, Maitreya and the other Bodhisattvas dispersed after the Parinirvāṇa as they decided to return to their original realms, the Tusita heaven in the case of Maitreya. Here again, it seems that there is an allusion to a possible historical reality: the disarray of the Community after the loss of its leader. The entrusting to a well-informed Bodhisattva would not have been a cause of sorrow, but the transmission had to be made, with anguish, to an adept of the Lesser Vehicle.

The following third and fourth questions again deal with the contradiction of the bestowal of a Mahāyāna sūtra on a Śrāvaka: for the Lotus and other Vaipulya sūtras, there was a bestowal on a King of Joy¹⁷ and other Bodhisattvas.... The answer shows us a beginning of the 'classification' of sūtras, an exercise which was to become so popular in later Chinese Buddhism¹⁸. There were cases of the predication of a Mahāyāna sūtra without any Arhat present. In the case of the Avatamsaka, the five hundred Arhats were unable to listen. In other instances, they could listen but could not make use of what had been preached. Is the predication of the Prajñāpāramitā to a Śrāvaka a testimony that the doctrine of Prajñā is inferior? On the contrary, the Prajñāpāramitā has no secret teaching in comparison with the Lotus and other sūtras which, taught to a Śrāvaka, will cause him to enter immediately into Buddhahood instead of taking the way of the Bodhisattva¹⁹. The teaching of a Mahāyāna sūtra has to be used as cautiously as does a poison with curative powers

by an able physician. To conclude, what we should note is that the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* have two levels of understanding: a general level and a level accessible only to the Bodhisattvas at the tenth *bhūmi* (stage). The general character of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is unique, but one's understanding of it can be either deep or shallow.

The *fifth question* returns us to a point already mentioned: as there is a *Parīdanā* of the *Akśobhyaparivarta*, why are there two 'Bestowals' in the same text? The author of the *Treatise* summarizes the teaching of the doctrine concerning the identity between the Perfection of Wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) and Skillfulness in Means (*upāyakaśālyā*)²⁰. In conclusion, as the Buddha knew of the evils which would follow his decease, he could not be blamed for making a *Parīdanā* for every chapter of his predication instead of only the two *Parīdanās* criticised here.

The *sixth question* is the last on the bestowal and the disquiet which surrounds it. The author makes use of a comparison already used in the *Parīdanā* of the *Akśobhyaparivarta*²¹: the anguish of a rich merchant entrusting his treasures to his ignorant son. In the light of another important doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā*: the Middle Way²² and the rejection of the two extremes, i.e. eternalism (*śāśvatavāda*) and nihilism (*ucchedavāda*), the author of the *Treatise* makes a philosophical refutation of the concern mentioned above about the craving implicit in an act of bestowal. When he preaches Emptiness, the Buddha destroys the extreme of eternalism, but risks being blamed for falling into the extreme of nihilism. By making, with much zeal, a bestowal, the Buddha neutralises this false presumption.

The second series of questions is directed towards the last sentences of the *Pañcaviṃśati* which have been summarized above. After the doctrinal tenets which have been referred to in the first six questions, we descend to a more mundane level with questions 7-10. It is a common feature in the *Treatise* that its author, as a good teacher, alternates technical developments and diverting stories. Here, it is the personality of Ānanda which is featured. The *seventh question* concludes that to be

a disciple of the Buddha is not a guarantee of holiness. There are also examples of 'evil' disciples who have already been condemned in the first part of the *Treatise*²³. Ānanda himself was a disciple of heretics but was saved by his quality of being a cousin of the Buddha. There will be an allusion in the eighth question to the well-known tradition that Ānanda was able to 'eliminate the impurities' only after the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. This point does not matter here as the predication of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is presented as taking place during the lifetime of the Buddha. We read here general prescriptions on the good behaviour of a disciple, recommending 'attentiveness towards the Master' and exhibiting the monastic meticulousness that Lamotte found so typical of the spirit of the author of the *Treatise*.

The *eighth question* deals with the relationship between the Master and the Master of the Master, i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā*. This is also a well-known theme in the *Treatise* which makes it clear that the *Prajñā* was radiant through the body of the Buddha during his lifetime. Now, the splendour and depth of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, formless and colourless, can be appreciated only by the Wise. It is thus not presumptuous of the Buddha to indicate to the still impure Ānanda that he should respect the *Prajñā* as he had respected the Buddha himself. Moreover, as the Buddha will no longer be there to overcome Māra, he charges Ānanda with the protection of the *Prajñā*.

On the threefold proclamation of the bestowal, the *ninth* and *tenth questions* somewhat evade the issue: why reiterate as much as three times the formula of entrusting the *Sūtra*? And, if it is so important, why not reiterate it more than three times? These questions lead to a recapitulation of a few old topics of predication: the old myth of Vajrapāṇi exterminating the recalcitrant with his club²⁴; the supreme shame of the mundane person consisting in the interruption of his own posterity; the cliché of the lamp which lights a multitude of lamps in succession²⁵. The last two points illustrate the sacrosanct duty not to let the transmission of the Teaching be interrupted. The threefold proclamation, a common procedure of any official ceremony in the Community, is here indirectly referred to the Three Vehicles.

The three questions 11-13 are again of a more scholastic nature. In the *eleventh question*, it is asked how to reconcile the interdiction to interrupt a doctrine's transmission with the doctrine itself which is Emptiness, without augmentation or diminution and totally 'nirvanized'. Here follows the last teaching of the *Treatise* on the 'conditioned' (*samskṛta*) and on the 'distinction' (*vikalpa*). The author of the *Treatise* displays an attitude more prone to conciliation than to polemics in explaining how the Prajñāpāramitā, who is the 'Teacher' and 'Mother of the Buddha', can be assimilated into the canonical 'Jewel of the Dharma': the advantages, culminating in Nirvāṇa, given by the Prajñāpāramitā are the same as those of the Triple Jewel.

The *twelfth question* asks about the necessity for the listener and worshipper of the Prajñāpāramitā to adapt his 'practice' to his reception of the Prajñā. The author of the *Treatise* links the obligation of good practice to rejection of the Lesser Vehicle and to adherence to the Great Vehicle and its altruistic activity. He explains thereafter the difference in merits produced by these two types of activity.

The *thirteenth question* queries the level of joy reached by Arhats and the more advanced members of the Assembly at the end of the predication of the Prajñāpāramitā. The author of the *Treatise* again shows an ironical spirit: when the Prajñāpāramitā is preached, everybody attains the joy which is within their grasp.

It seems to me meaningful that the *fourteenth and last question* leads to the recapitulation of the First Council which followed the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha. At the extreme end of one of the most elaborate commentaries of Mahāyānist literature, we are confronted by fragments of an account whose earliest versions belong to the Vinaya literature. Later, this account was reproduced in the Introductions, or Nidānas, of numerous Hīnayānist works, among them the famous Commentaries on the Pāli Tipiṭaka: the *Su-maṅgalavilāsinī*, the *Samantapāsādikā* and, with a complete rearrangement, the *Aṭṭhasālinī*. One value of these Nidānas is to testify to the orthodoxy of the text which will follow.

In the *Treatise*, the question is clearly expressed: if the

Prajñāpāramitāsūtra has been bestowed on Ānanda, why was it not rehearsed at the First Council when Ānanda was specifically in charge of the recitation of the sūtras? The answer will also be expressed in a few words in the very last line of the huge *Treatise*, but it is preceded by a manifold examination which makes this last topic the most extensively treated in the last chapter of the Ta-chih-tu lun. There is first an examination of the obstacles. We have been told about the inability of the Śrāvakas to understand the Mahāyāna when it was preached by the Buddha. How much more difficult would it become for them after his demise! Besides that, the Hīnayānist Tripiṭaka consists of 30,000 ślokas in contrast to the Mahāyānist texts which are unlimited. Among the Mahāyānist texts, the 'Great Prajñāpāramitā' division contains 100,000 ślokas, the 'Medium Prajñāpāramitā' division 22,000 ślokas and the texts kept by the Nāga kings, Asuras and other devas contain thousands of hundreds of millions of ślokas. Moreover, these non-human beings have no longer a span of life or better power of memorisation than the Bhikṣus who are not even able to remember the 'Smaller Prajñāpāramitā' division²⁶.

In order to stress the length of the Vaipulya sūtras, the author of the *Treatise* lists a few of them: well-known are the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (designated as *Acintyavimokṣa-sūtra*²⁷), the *Daśabhūmika* under the denomination, current in the *Treatise*, of *Dharmameghasūtra*. This title makes it one of the three 'Megha sūtras'²⁸ grouped together in the list of sūtras appearing here and there in the *Treatise*. Some of the other titles are unknown, but all are compared to treasures lying at the bottom of the Ocean. Not all those sūtras can be included in the Hīnayānist Tripiṭaka, as large things cannot be introduced into small things, according to a cliché frequently used in the Ta-chih-tu lun²⁹.

The aforementioned obstacles did not discourage Mañjuśrī and Maitreya from inviting Ānanda to recite the Mahāyāna sūtras after having recited the Sūtrapiṭaka at the First Council. Thus is demonstrated the strong will of the author of the *Treatise* to legitimize the Mahāyānist tradition! Fond of maritime similes, he argues that if the Dharma has only one taste of liberation (*vimukti*) like the uniquely salty taste of the Ocean, there must

be two kinds of liberation: the personal liberation which characterizes the Lesser Vehicle and the liberation of all living beings which is the object of the Great Vehicle³⁰. This opposition between *svakārtha* and *parārtha* is probably the main distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna expounded in several passages of the Ta-chih-tu lun³¹.

Thereafter³², the author insists on the point that *tripitaka* is a word of late origin. At the time of the Buddha, people knew only of the terms *sūtra*, *vinaya* and *mātrka*. *Sūtra* is a common term for the texts belonging to the four Āgamas, for the Mahāyāna sūtras, which have to be called the 'Great Sūtras' (*ta hsiu-to-lo*), and also the 250 rules of the Prātimokṣa³³.

Regarding the Vinaya, the short description given here is probably one of the most glossed passages of the Ta-chih-tu lun. After having explained that the short predication of the Vinaya is in eighty sections, the author of the *Treatise* makes a distinction between the Vinaya of Mathura in eighty sections and the Vinaya of Kashmir, which is in ten sections but which is commented upon by a Vibhāṣā in eighty sections. E. Frauwallner³⁴ chose to identify the Vinaya of Mathura, which includes Avadāna and Jātaka, with the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. As for the Vinaya of Kashmir, without Avadāna and Jātaka, he supported its identification, already proposed by J. Przyluski³⁵, with the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins. Lamotte agreed with this second identification but considered the Vibhāṣā commenting on the Vinaya of Kashmir as being precisely the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins³⁶. It seems indeed that the author of the Ta-chih-tu lun, although he quotes as 'Vinaya' only the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, made extensive use of the narrative documentation which would later become known as the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins³⁷. In his time, did that documentation of unspecified origin come from a Vinaya-vibhāṣā? Much research has now been made on when and where the form of the huge Sanskrit Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins was fixed³⁸. Its discovery among the Gilgit Manuscripts and its edition through the efforts of N. Dutti³⁹, G. Tucci⁴⁰, T. Venkatacharya and R. Gnoli⁴¹ count among the great achievements of Buddhist studies in the last fifty years.

Between this controversial information on the Vinaya and a valuable colophon which has been studied by Demiéville⁴², the Ta-chih-tu lun ends abruptly with a short sentence which summarizes the answer to the fourteenth question, mentioned above: 'Yes, the Mahāprajñāpāramitā and analogous texts are part of the Sūtras (*hsiu-to-lo-ching*), but since as sūtras, they were large and the matter they treated was different, they could not take their place in the compilation of the Tripitaka.'

The final sentence of the Ta-chih-tu lun is meaningful as it shows once again the crucial difference between the Hīnayāna, heir of a prestigious tradition, the Tripitaka, and the innovative and superabundant Mahāyāna. It illustrates a dilemma which runs like a leit-motiv through the *Treatise*: its author was 'cornered' as, on the one hand, he followed his critical and systematic sense, which makes the *Treatise* a masterwork of exegesis, and on the other hand he had to refer constantly to what could be called in modern language a double standard. He wishes to establish the authenticity and legitimacy⁴³ of the Prajñāpāramitā texts on which he has specifically built his exegesis. Of course, he could rely on the Mahāyāna and Mādhyamika concepts of *upāyakaūśalya* and of the twofold truth, i.e. *paramārtha* and *saṃvṛti*, but one can still be amazed by his ingenuity when he resorts constantly to concepts like the two levels of understanding (fourth question) and the two levels of enjoying (thirteenth question) the predication of the Prajñāpāramitā, and the twofold *vimukti* (fourteenth question); or when he proposes an interpretation of the bestowal as a refutation of an accusation of nihilistic tendencies. We may thus consider the last chapter of the Ta-chih-tu lun as an epitome of the tensions latent in what has been called by the Far Eastern tradition the 'Great Treatise'. We may also add that the similarities between the Introduction (*Traité*, Vol. I) and the last chapter of the *Treatise* show that it is the work of only one author.

* Presented at the 7th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Bologna, July 1985.

NOTES

¹ Tome I, Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. 18, Louvain 1944 - reprint: Publications

de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (P.I.O.L.), Vol.25, Louvain-la-neuve 1981. Tome II, B. du Mus., Vol.18, Louvain 1949 - reprint: P.I.O.L., Vol.26, Louvain-la-neuve 1981. Tome III, P.I.O.L., Vol.2, Louvain 1970. Tome IV, P.I.O.L., Vol.12, Louvain 1976. Tome V, P.I.O.L., Vol.24, Louvain-la-neuve 1980. Tome VI: Addenda & Corrigenda, Index is in preparation.

See, for a bibliographical survey of Lamotte's publications until 1971: Notice sur Mgr E. Lamotte, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain, Louvain (privately published) 1972, 44pp.; until 1977: 'L'oeuvre de Mgr Etienne Lamotte' in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr Lamotte*, P.I.O.L., Vol.23, Louvain-la-neuve 1980, pp.vii-xvi; until 1984: H. Bechert, 'In memoriam Etienne Lamotte (1903-1983)', *Numen* XXXII, 1, 1985, pp.120-9. H. Durt, 'Etienne Lamotte, 1903-1983', *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-orient* LXXIV, 1985, pp.1-28. A selection of 'Scripta Minora' will be published in the collection of the *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Brussels.

² Review of *Traité II* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1950, pp.375-95 - reprinted in *Choix d'études bouddhiques*, Leiden 1973; pp.470-90. An English translation by A. Saroop of this important review will be published as an appendix to the English version of the *Traité* by Sara Boin-Webb.

³ Calcutta Oriental Series, No.28, 1934, 269pp.

⁴ Translated in Lamotte, *Traité V*, pp.2373-2445.

⁵ See E. Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd ed., Reiyukai, Tokyo 1978, pp.36-9.

⁶ T.D.K.K. No.56, 1971, pp.164-129; No.57, 1972, pp.524-503; No.58, 1973, pp.270-238; No.61, 1975, pp.668-655; No.64, 1978, pp.440-418. The complete edition of Chapters 2 and 3 has been edited under the title 'Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā II-III', edited by Takayasu Kimura, Sankibo Busshorin, Tokyo 1986.'

⁷ A Historical Study of the terms *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* and the Origin of *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 1st ed., University of Calcutta 1927 - repr. Indological Book Corporation, Patna 1978, p.161.

⁸ Demiéville, *art. cit.*, pp.391-4.

⁹ See E. Conze, 'The Composition of the *Astasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XIV, 1952, pp.258-9 -

repr. in *Thirty Years of Buddhist Studies*, London 1967, pp.168-84.

¹⁰ *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-paripṛcchā Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, Fukuoka 1958, pp.xxxii-xxxiv. See also J. Dantinne, *La splendeur de l'Inébranable (Akṣobhyavyūha)* I, P.I.O.L., Vol.29, Louvain-la-neuve 1983, pp.41-4.

¹¹ Ed. R. Mitra, *Bibliotheca Indica*, No.110, Calcutta 1888, pp.528-9; ed. U. Wogihara (with Haribhadra's Commentary), 1st ed., Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo 1932-5 - repr. Sankibō, Tokyo 1973, pp.990.9-991.8; Engl. transl. by E. Conze, *Bibl. Ind.*, No.284, Calcutta 1958, pp.224-5.

¹² See *Traité I*, pp.228-9; Dantinne, *op. cit.*, pp.148-9.

¹³ *Asta*: Mitra, pp.498.1-3, 523.1-2; Wogihara, pp.947.8-11; 983.21-24.

¹⁴ Isshi Yamada, *Karunapundarika*, Edited with Introduction and Notes, School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol.1, London 1968, pp.104-17. See also Dantinne, *op. cit.*, pp.137-9; J. Gernet, 'Les suicides par le feu chez les Bouddhistes chinois du Ve au Xe siècles', *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* II, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises XIV, Paris 1960, pp.527-58; J. Filliozat, 'La mort volontaire par le feu et la tradition bouddhique indienne', *J.A.* 1963, pp.21-51.

¹⁵ See *Traité III*, p.xlii; V, pp.2181-2201; 2231-33; D. Seyfort Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, Wiesbaden 1981, pp.32-3.

¹⁶ *Nāgārjuna's Philosophy as Presented in the Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra*, Rutland - Tokyo 1966, pp.278-90 - repr. Delhi 1987.

¹⁷ Keisho Tsukamoto, 'Daichidoron to Hokkekyō' [The treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom and the Lotus Sūtra], in Yukio Sakamoto, ed., *Hokkekyō no Chugoku-teki tenkai* [The Lotus Sūtra and Chinese Buddhism], Heirakuji, Tokyo 1972, p.633, does not explain who is this Nandarāja. The reference 714a should be corrected to 754b.

In a sūtra typical of the Great Vehicle, the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (which has no Parīdanā chapter), the Buddha insists when speaking to Mañjuśrī, in the last chapter, on his wish to entrust his Nirvāṇasūtra to Ānanda (T XII 375 xxxiii 850b7-8). On Ānanda, see Dantinne, *op. cit.*, pp.122-3.

¹⁸ See Liu Ming-Wood, 'The P'an Chiao system of the Hua-yen School in Chinese Buddhism', *T'oung Pao* LXVII, 1-2, 1981, p.11, n.3. See also L. Hurvitz, *Chih-i*,

Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques XII, 1962, p.231.

19 See E. Lamotte, 'Note bibliographique: Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna, Tome III', *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 56, 1970, p.542, and the quotations referred to by R. Kimura, *op. cit.*, p.165, on the 'death of a Bodhisattva' or the hell to be preferred to the Śrāvaka- and Pratyekabuddhayānas as it keeps open the career of the Bodhisattva.

20 See M. Pye, *Skilful Means, A Concept in Mahayana Buddhism*, London 1978, pp. 102-17.

21 T 1509 lxxix 619b25-cl.

22 See K. Mimaki, J. May in *Hōbōgirin* V, Paris - Tokyo 1979, s.v. Chūdō, p.463.

23 Sunakṣetra, already briefly mentioned in *Traité* III, p.1545, as well as Susīma, indirectly referred to in *Traité* III, p.1483, and mentioned in the Parīdanā of the Akṣobhyaparivarta, T 1509 lxxix 620b27-28, are somewhat unknown figures presented here as 'nominal disciples'.

24 See E. Lamotte, 'Vajrapāṇi en Inde', *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Paul Demiéville*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises XX, Paris 1966, p.116 sq.

25 See E. Lamotte, *The Teaching of Vimalakīrti*, Engl. transl. by Sara Boin, Sacred Books of the Buddhists XXXII, London 1976, p.105. Strangely enough, there is no special comment here on the interdiction to lose even one word of the Prajñāpāramitā. The quotation on that topic in *Traité* I, p.233 (T 1509 iii 84b19-20 does not refer to the final Parīdanā Chapter, but to the Parīdanā of the Akṣobhyaparivarta (T 1509 lxxix 616c22-26, comm. 619cl-22): to lose all the twelve āṅgas of the Sūtrapitaka is a minor offence in comparison to losing one word of the Prajñāpāramitā.

26 Hikata, *op. cit.*, p.lviii, points out that it is the first classification of the Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtras in the *Treatise*. 'Medium' seems to allude to the Pañcaviṃśati, which has 25,000 and not 22,000 śloka; 'Small' could refer to the Aṣṭasāhasrikā.

27 See Hikata, *op. cit.*, pp.lviii-lix.

28 See Hikata, *op. cit.*, pp.lviii-lix: *Traité* III, pp.xxxvi-xxxvii. The

three 'Megha sūtras' mentioned together in the Ta-chih-tu lun (T 1509 xxxiii 308a6 = *Traité* V, p.2301, and xlv 394b15) seem to refer to the Daśabhūmika, the Mahāmeghasūtra and the Ratnameghasūtra.

29 See Venkata Ramanan, *op. cit.*, p.278 and n.4.

30 The distinction used here is completely different from the twofold vimukti (cetovimukti, prajñāvimukti) of the Abhidharmakośa. See L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* IV, (reprint) Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques XVI, 1971, pp.296-8.

31 This passage is referred to as a conclusion of the survey on the Ta-chih-tu-lun by R. Kimura, *op. cit.*, p.164. See also P. Demiéville in *Hōbōgirin* III, Paris 1937, s.v. Butsu, p.191.

32 From here, the concluding sentences of the Ta-chih-tu-lun have been translated by J. Przyluski in *La légende de l'empereur Aśoka*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes 31, Paris 1923, pp.214-15.

33 On the classification of parts of the Vinaya as 'sūtras', see *Traité* V, p.2287, n.3.

34 *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature*, Serie Orientale Roma VIII, ISEO, 1956, p.26 sq.

35 'Fables in the Vinaya-Pitaka of the Sarvāstivādin School', *Indian Historical Quarterly* V, 1. Calcutta 1929, pp.2-4.

36 E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, B. du Mus. 43, Louvain 1958, pp.192-7 [Engl. transl. by Sara Boin-Webb, *History of Indian Buddhism*, P.I.O.L. Vol.36, Louvain-la-neuve 1988, pp.174-9].

37 *Traité* I, pp.104-5 (n.2); III, pp.xvi-xviii.

38 Regarding the difference between the traditions of the Vinayas of the Sarvāstivādins and of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, see Shizuka Sasaki, 'Komponsetsu issaiubu ritsū ni mirareru Butsuden no kenkyū' [The Biography of Buddha in the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins], *Seinan Ajia Kenkyū*, No.24, Kyoto 1985, pp.25-7; and 'Mahāsūtra: A group of Mūlasarvāstivādasūtra as listed in the 1dan dkar ma Catalogue', *Bukkyō Kenkyū*, Hamamatsu 1985.

39 *Gilgit Manuscripts* III, 4 volumes, Srinagar 1942-50. New edition by S. Bagchi, *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts* No.16, 2 vols., Darbhanga 1967, 1970.

40 Translations of fragments of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin in II trono di diamante, Bari 1967.

41 Co-editorship of *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, 2 vols., Rome 1977-8; R. Gnoli, ed., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaranavastu*, Rome 1978 (Publications of the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan and of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente).

42 The colophon has been preserved in T 2145 x 75b. Demiéville, *art. cit.*, p.383, n.4. See also *Traité III*, pp.xlv-xlvi.

43 See E. Lamotte, 'Les sources scriptuaires de l'Upadeśa et leurs valeurs respectives', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 2, Kyoto 1986, pp.1-15.

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EKOTTARĀGAMA (VIII)

traduit de la version chinoise par

Thích HuyĒn-Vi

Fascicule cinquième

Partie II

Sans attendre¹

1. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Lorsque le Bouddha, le Bienheureux, résidait dans le parc d'Anāthapiṇḍada à Śrāvastī, il disait à ses bhikṣu: Vous devez détruire votre désir et je vous donnerai l'attestation d'atteindre le stade d'Anāgāmin. Quel est ce désir? C'est la luxure. Le Bouddha récitait ensuite cette gāthā:

En se cramponant à la luxure
Les humains tombent dans le mauvais chemin.
S'ils pouvaient éliminer cette passion
Le stade d'Anāgāmin serait leur réalisation.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

2. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Bienheureux disait à ses bhikṣu: Bhikṣu, vous atteignez aussi ce stade si vous pouviez détruire la colère. En effet:

En se laissant entraîner par la colère
Les humains tombent dans le mauvais chemin.
S'ils pouvaient éteindre le feu de la colère
Ils accéderaient au stade d'Anāgāmin.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

3. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Bienheureux disait à ses bhikṣu: Bhikṣu, vous atteignez aussi ce stade d'Anāgāmin, si vous pouviez éliminer l'ignorance. En effet:

En se laissant entraîner par l'ignorance
Les humains tombent dans le mauvais chemin.
Pour l'éliminer, s'ils avaient la persévérance
Ils réaliseraient le stade d'Anāgāmin.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

4. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Bienheureux disait à ses bhikṣu: Bhikṣu, vous atteignez aussi ce stade d'Anāgāmin, si vous pouviez enlever l'avarice de votre cœur. Parce que:

En ayant toujours d'avarice
Les humains tombent dans le mauvais chemin.
S'ils s'acharnaient à la supprimer
Ils parviendraient au stade d'Anāgāmin.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

5. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Bienheureux disait à ses bhikṣu: Bhikṣu, comme vous au début, je n'arrivais pas à dominer un fait que j'ai subi au cours du temps et lequel ne m'apportait que souffrance: c'est la pensée [illusoire]. C'est pourquoi vous devez l'identifier, l'analyser pour distinguer l'origine du bon et du bien. Prêtez donc bien attention à ce point précis.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

6. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Bienheureux disait à ses bhikṣu: Bhikṣu, comme vous au début, je n'apercevais pas le moyen de convaincre facilement la pensée [illusoire] et d'obtenir de bonnes récompenses. Réfléchissez bien sur ce point pour discerner les bonnes causes qui vous donneront de bons effets.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

7. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Bienheureux disait à ses bhikṣu: S'il y avait quelqu'un parmi vous qui commençait à réfléchir puis répandait ses paroles aberrantes, je le saurais immédiatement. A d'autres occasions, par la méditation, je pourrai savoir aussi s'il faisait part de ses idées à d'autres personnes.

Bhikṣu, la cupidité est une passion très difficile à abandonner. Elle peut vous mener par la suite vers les trois mauvais chemins² et vous ne parviendrez jamais au niveau de l'Inconditionné (*asaṃskṛta*). C'est pourquoi celui d'entre vous qui a cette passion, doit s'en débarrasser immédiatement. Celui qui n'en

a pas encore ne doit pas la laisser naître. Faites-en très attention.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

8. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Bienheureux disait à ses bhikṣu: Bhikṣu, s'il y avait quelqu'un parmi vous qui avait l'intention de se suicider ou qui ne voulait plus rester dans la communauté et répandait ses paroles aberrantes, je le saurais immédiatement. A d'autres moments, par la méditation, je pourrais me rendre compte aussi de la naissance de ses désirs, de sa cupidité, de la propagation de son esprit capricieux.

N'oubliez pas que la convoitise est un sentiment très difficile à vous débarrasser. Elle vous entraînera vers les trois mauvais chemins et vous empêchera de parvenir au niveau de l'Inconditionné. Celui d'entre vous qui a cette manie doit l'abandonner immédiatement. Celui qui n'en a pas encore ne la laisse pas naître. Examinez bien cette question.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

9. 'Ainsi ai-je entendu. Une fois le Tathāgata résidait à Rājagṛha dans le jardin de bambou Kalanda[*kanivāpa*] avec ses 500 disciples. Il leur demandait ceci: Bhikṣu, qui entre vous pense que Devadatta³ est innocent ou bien qu'il a commis des fautes indélébiles à expier durant plusieurs kalpa? Selon notre Dharma, je n'ai pas vu la moindre bonne action aussi petite qu'un grain de sable, au nom de Devadatta. A cause de cela, aujourd'hui je vais vous relater l'origine de ses fautes et pourquoi elles sont irréparables. Prenez l'exemple d'un homme tombé dans un fossé d'excrément. Tout son corps en est imprégné. Quelqu'un a voulu le sauver, le ramener vers un endroit salubre. Mais en l'examinant bien, il s'est aperçu que l'accidenté est très sale, complètement sale. Il lui dit alors: J'aurais aimé vous tirer de là. Mais il m'est impossible de le faire. Ainsi dit, il s'en va.

Il en est de même pour Devadatta que pour les autres ignorants qui ne prennent pas conscience du bien. Ils seront plongés dans le mal durant des kalpa sans pouvoir s'en sortir. Pourquoi?

C'est parce que Devadatta est ignorant. Il est ébloui par le profit. Il a commis [quelques-unes] des cinq graves fautes⁴. A sa mort, il renaîtra dans l'un des trois mauvais chemins. Il en est ainsi, bhikṣu: Les grands profits n'apportent pas le bonheur à l'homme. Celui d'entre vous qui souhaite en avoir la jouissance, doit abandonner cette idée. Celui qui n'en a pas encore ne la laisse pas naître.

Ayant entendu ces conseils du Tathāgata, les bhikṣu étaient heureux et les mettaient respectueusement en pratique.

10. Ainsi ai-je entendu... le Tathāgata résidait... avec ses 500 disciples. Un des bhikṣu ayant entendu le Tathāgata confirmer la condamnation sans appel d'un kalpa d'expiation pour Devadatta se dirigeait vers Ānanda et s'asseyait à ses côtés. Il demandait à Ānanda: Pourquoi le Tathāgata évoque-t-il d'abord les fautes de Devadatta avant d'annoncer sa condamnation à un kalpa d'expiation? Il faut avoir un motif pour le condamner. - Ānanda répondait: Le Bouddha ne commet jamais d'erreur. Les actes accomplis par son corps et sa bouche sont les mêmes. Le Bouddha annonce très justement la condamnation de Devadatta à un kalpa d'expiation de ses graves fautes. - Ānanda se dirigeait vers le Bouddha, se prosternait devant lui, se redressait et lui disait: Ô Bienheureux, il y a un bhikṣu qui se pose la question suivante: Pourquoi le Tathāgata évoque-t-il d'abord les fautes de Devadatta avant d'annoncer sa condamnation à un kalpa d'expiation? Y-a-t-il un motif pour cette condamnation? - Le Bouddha répondait: Ce bhikṣu est nouvellement admis dans notre communauté. Tout ce que le Tathāgata dit est vrai. Pourquoi en doute-t-il? - Le Bouddha demanda à Ānanda de lui amener ce bhikṣu pour lui donner des explications. Ānanda s'en allait exécuter l'ordre. Le bhikṣu rectifiait l'ordre de son habit puis accompagnait Ānanda jusqu'à la place du Bouddha, se prosternait et prenait place à ses côtés. Le Bouddha lui disait alors ceci: Pourquoi êtes-vous si obtus pour douter ainsi la parole du Bouddha? Ce que le Tathāgata dit est toujours vrai. Vous voulez chercher quelques défaillances de ses mots. - le bhikṣu répondait: Le bhikṣu Devadatta a du prestige et de l'autorité. Pourquoi le condamnez-vous à un kalpa d'expiation de ses fautes? - Le Bouddha répondait: Bhikṣu, faites attention à vos paroles sinon vous supporterez des souffrances interminables. - Le Bouddha

récitait la gāthā suivante:

La connaissance mondaine n'apporte pas la libération finale ni l'extinction des passions, par contre elle peut envoyer l'individu en enfer.

Si j'avais vu chez Devadatta le moindre signe de bonté je n'aurais jamais annoncé sa condamnation à un kalpa d'expiation. Quant au motif, le voici: Devadatta est ignorant, cupide, et a commis [quelques-unes] des cinq graves fautes. A sa mort il sera échu en enfer. Pourquoi? Parce que la cupidité détruit les germes du bien chez l'homme et l'empêche de parvenir au Nirvāṇa. C'est pourquoi, bhikṣu, ne la laisse pas naître.

Le bhikṣu qui avait posé la question se levait, rectifiait ses habits puis se prosternait devant le Bouddha en disant: Ô Bienheureux, je suis un repenté et à partir de maintenant je m'efforcerai de me perfectionner. J'implore votre pardon pour mon ignorance et mes doutes vis-à-vis de vos paroles. - Il répétait cette prière trois fois de suite. Le Bouddha lui répondait: C'est bien. Je pardonne votre erreur. A partir de maintenant ôtez les doutes de votre esprit. - Le Tathāgata citait la gāthā suivante:

Le repenté efface une grave faute.
Celui qui observe la moralité (śīla) peut
extraire les racines de ses fautes.

Ce bhikṣu ainsi que tous les autres acceptaient tous les conseils du Bouddha et promettaient de bien les appliquer.'

NOTES

¹ Voir T2, 566bl et suiv.

² Voir BSR V, 1, p.59, n.4.

³ Devadatta était un cousin et disciple du Bouddha. Mais il voulait supprimer ce dernier pour prendre sa place. Sur Devadatta, avec références à toutes les sources pāli qui le concernent, voir Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* I, pp.1106-11. Voir aussi, E. Lamotte, *Traité II*, pp.868-77, se référant exhaustivement aux oeuvres sanskrit et à celles conservées dans le canon chinois.

⁴ Les cinq graves fautes ou 'péchés ānantarya' sont: tuer son père, tuer sa mère, tuer un Arhat, détruire l'union du Saṅgha, blesser un Bouddha. En effet Devadatta a commis trois péchés ānantarya: a) le schisme, b) blessure infligée au Bouddha, c) blessure mortelle infligée à un Arhatī - Lamotte, *ibid.*, pp.873-5. Cf. aussi Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, p.95 f.

traduction française avec
l'aide du Bhikṣu Trī-Bô

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NEWS AND NOTES

Tùng Lâm Linh-Sơn International

In a previous issue of this journal (BSR II, 1-2, pp.66-8) the activities of Ven. Dr Thich Huyền-Vi were recorded: his founding, with the support of the Association bouddhique Linh-Sơn at Joinville-le-Pont (Paris) and affiliated Linh-Sơn associations in the USA and elsewhere, of the Monastère bouddhique Linh-Sơn together with a Buddhist research institute attached to it, as well as Linh-Sơn branch temples found by now on all continents. The Linh-Sơn headquarters serving, besides many other things, as a training centre for a steadily increasing numbers of monks and nuns, soon ran short of space despite having been enlarged by an annexe.

Fortunately two years ago one half of a hamlet, virtually deserted and dilapidated but situated in peaceful and beautiful surroundings, was discovered some 40 km north of Limoges, near the village of Rancon (Chateauponsac), with nearly 30 hectares of grounds, and it was acquired for use by the Linh-Sơn Sangha. Since then, members of the Linh-Sơn community have been hard at work rebuilding and converting their 'Dharma Ville' into a magnificent Buddhist centre. That they have admirably succeeded could be witnessed by all those who were present on 28th August last to participate in the inauguration ceremony. So far, a huge shrine-hall accomodating 500 people, quarters for monks and a nunnery have been completed. Two further buildings have been renovated and furnished, one serving as a library with a spacious lecture hall on the ground floor, the other as a kitchen and refectory.

Thus the first phase of establishing the new headquarters and would-be international Buddhist centre has been completed. Further phases are to follow: the construction, for instance, of a guest house, of a meditation centre where everybody genuinely interested in bhāvanā will hopefully benefit from facilities conducive to intensive mental training, of a kind of Buddhist old people's home and of suitable accomodation for several Linh-Sơn Buddhist youth organizations.

One final remark about the meaning of Túng-Lâm 美林, the new name of Linh-Sơn International Centre in south-western France. The director of Túng-Lâm Linh-Sơn, Ven Thích Huyên-Vi, has deliberately chosen this name harking back to a time-honoured tradition of both Vietnam and China, where Buddhist training centres of a larger scale were often called Túng-Lâm (Cống-Lin), which corresponds to 'Mahāvithāra'. The literal meaning, however, is 'dense forest' being evergreen, shady and in so many ways useful to sentient beings.

On the occasion of the formal opening ceremony, which was attended by local civil and religious dignitaries, a unique publication was released. Entitled *Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā Hṛdaya-Sūtra*, this opens with a long commentary on the Heart Sūtra by Ven. Thích Huyên-Vi, 'Le Sutra de la Grande Sagesse pour rejoindre l'autre Rive de l'Eveil', and includes the text in the numerous Chinese translations, (Sanskrit) Devanāgarī and Tibetan (script and roman), Pāli (romanised), Mongol, Manchu, Japanese, English, French and Vietnamese, together with all the seals and calligraphy that are being serially reproduced at the beginning of each issue of BSR.

The aims and objects of Túng-Lâm are:

- to train monks, enabling them to disseminate the Dharma in the name of the Association and of the Buddhist Community,
- to create a Centre where the Sangha can practise the Dharma efficaciously,
- to admit and teach aspirants who wish to be ordained, without distinction of sex or nationality,
- to raise and educate the young according to Buddhist principles,
- to guide lay Buddhists in deepening their mental purification and to teach them the Dharma,
- to help outsiders to understand Buddhism better, to lead a simple and noble life, beneficial to both themselves and others,
- to perpetuate and develop Buddhist culture (Buddhist arts and the Dharma) in the eyes of Westerners.

All-Union Conference of Soviet Buddhologists

Approximately 150 participants met in Moscow at the Institute

of Oriental Studies in November 1987 and heard ten papers and forty-five communications over a period of two days. (No less than 114 abstracts of communications had been printed prior to the proceedings.) The major centres of academic research into Buddhism have long been Moscow, Leningrad and Ulan Ude, and representatives from them discussed topics of interest under the following headings:

History. The main achievement in this field is the comprehensive study of source materials which embrace both archaeological excavations (notably former Kuṣāṇa monastic sites under the supervision of B.A. Litvinsky and B.Y. Stavisky) and the publication of texts and translations from Central Asia (especially the Sanskrit Mss by G.M. Bongard-Levin). As was made clear, work is also continuing on investigation into Buddhist doctrine, didactic literature, medicine and art as described in Buryat, Mongol and Tibetan documents, but especially in the Kanjur and Tanjur. Papers were read on specific tenets - dharmas, karma, skandhas, Nirvāṇa and sūnyatā, and discussions ensued on historical studies of traditional Buddhism as well as on popular manifestations in the Far East.

Culture. This category included discussions on iconography, the restoration and classification of canonical texts, Buddhist hagiography, historical chronicles, and the relationship between Buddhist and shamanist traditions. Specific aspects of the visual arts were the subject of several papers and the consensus of opinion was that urgent attention should be given to the Buddhist artefacts in the museum collections of the Soviet Union (in particular, the Hermitage, Leningrad, the Museum of Arts of the Peoples of the East, Moscow, and the Ts. Sampilov Museum, Ulan Ude).

Current Developments. - subdivided into three main subjects:

- 1) The role of Buddhism in the public life of Asian countries which acknowledged the 'use of Buddhist concepts in 'national liberation struggles' and in the 'third way of development' (i.e. 'Buddhist socialism'). The Theravādin Sangha and the Sokagakkai were cited as examples of present-day practitioners of the latter. Because of its historical importance and influential position in society, socialist [i.e. Communist] administrations should

co-operate with the monastic community, particularly in economically undeveloped regions. Indeed, 'an in-depth study of Buddhist tradition may prove to be helpful in shaping certain aspects of the socialist tradition.'

- 2) Tibetan medicine and the psychological aspects of Buddhism.
- 3) Applied studies of Buddhism.

The Conference plans 'to promote the cohesion of Buddhological studies with natural sciences. With the proper organization and placement of scientific personnel further studies of Buddhism can offer a major contribution to our understanding of the processes of development of the philosophy, logic and psychology common to all mankind.'

It was also resolved to:

'1) Regard the following long-term trends in Buddhological studies as having paramount importance:

- cataloguing and describing Buddhist manuscripts, translating primary sources, compiling dictionaries and reference books etc.;
- studying the history of Buddhism;
- studying the religious system of Buddhism;
- studying the ideological, political and social role of Buddhism in the present-day situation.

2) Regard it advisable to concentrate the efforts of Soviet Buddhologists upon preparing thematic collections of articles.

3) Propose to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences to set up an All-Union Association of Buddhologists within the framework of the All-Union Association of Orientalists and to entrust to it the functions to implement the proposals of the present Conference.

4) Consider it advisable to convene a World Conference of Buddhologists in 1991.

5) With a view to improve the training and selection of specialists in Buddhology address to the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR the proposal to introduce periodical courses of lectures on Buddhism in Orientalist, philosophical and historical departments where the required experts are available.'

'In the opinion of the Conference members Buddhist dialectics may prove to be one of the methods of new thinking capable not only of saving mankind from self-destruction but also of reestab-

lishing the balance between the human civilization and nature.'

Abridged from *Buddhists for Peace* 10, 1, Ulan Bator

Ed. The opportunity should be taken to publicise the appearance in recent years of full-length studies on or about Russian Indology. Background materials are provided by G. Bongard-Levin and A. Vigasin in *The Image of India. A Study of Ancient Indian Civilisations in the USSR* (Moscow 1984) - with two chapters devoted to S. Oldenburg and Th. Stcherbatsky, and R.H. Stacy *India in Russian Literature* (Delhi 1985) - a chronological analysis. Textual studies are well represented by the prolific writings of Bongard-Levin, whose latest surveys comprise *Indian Texts from Central Asia* (Leningrad Manuscript Collection) and *New Sanskrit Fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Central Asian Manuscript Collection at Leningrad) - both published by the International Institute for Buddhist Studies (Tokyo 1986). Apart from the periodic reprint of the English works of Stcherbatsky, E. Obermiller's translation of the major historical work by Bu-ston has been reproduced in two parts in the Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series (Delhi): *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (1986) and *The Jewelry of Scripture* (1987). Two essays by the same translator have been offprinted by another publisher in Delhi under the titles *Nirvāṇa in Tibetan Buddhism* (1987) and *Prajñāpāramitā in Tibetan Buddhism* (1988). Of incomparable reference value is the bibliographical index of 'International Congresses of Orientalists 1873-1983' (Leningrad 1984), whilst Knud Lundbaek has contributed the first detailed biography of T.S. Bayer (1694-1738). Pioneer Sinologist (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Copenhagen-London 1986), who was also closely associated with the newly-founded Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg.

Symposium on the date of the Buddha

When Simon de La Loubère visited Siam in 1687, he found an era in use there which, when correlated with the Christian era, indicated that the Buddha had died in 544 B.C. When, however, Western scholars began to read Buddhist texts they discovered that according to the Sinhalese chronicles the Buddha died 218 years before the consecration of Aśoka, which can be dated c.268 B.C., while the Northern Buddhist texts indicated that Aśoka had lived only 100 or 110 years after the Buddha. These figures give c.486 B.C. and somewhere in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C., respectively, for the date of the Buddha's death.

A calculation which gave a date of 483 B.C. received strong support from such scholars as Wilhelm Geiger, and for a long

time this was the view most generally accepted, although there were still those who advocated the later date. The last decade or so has seen the publication of a number of papers which have re-examined the evidence and suggested that the numbers 100 and 218 should not be taken literally. It has become clear that the time has now arrived for the whole matter to be investigated once again in the light of recent discoveries, especially in the field of archaeology.

To this end, a symposium 'On the date of the historical Buddha and the importance of its determination for historiography and world history' was held at Hedemünden, a village some 20 kms south of Göttingen, from the 11th to the 18th of April 1988. It was sponsored by the Committee for Buddhist Studies of the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen, and organised by Professor Heinz Bechert. More than fifty participants from a dozen or so countries were invited, although in the event not everyone was able to attend.

The papers read at this conference fell into several different categories:

- 1) those which were purely research tools, i.e. translations of texts or portions of texts which give information about the date of the Buddha, or information about such texts, or surveys of previous investigations into the problem;
- 2) those which dealt with the importance of the date for historiography and world history;
- 3) those which tried to find a methodology which might be of help in the search for the date of the historical Buddha;
- 4) those which actually tried to fix a date for the death of the historical Buddha.

Papers dealing with the importance for historiography and world history discussed the various dates of the Buddha which are found in individual countries or traditions, e.g. in China, India, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, Tibet or Vietnam. They concentrated mainly upon the many dates which are given for the Buddha in Chinese texts, which represent the conflict between the various Chinese sects for whom the date was a matter of theological politics, or upon the way in which the Buddhist countries of South-East Asia, including those such as Indonesia

where Buddhism is now increasing in importance, all adhere to the traditional date of 544 B.C.

Most of those papers which tried to establish a methodology took some aspect of Indian culture and, by extrapolating back from the known state of that culture at the time of Aśoka, tried to deduce how long had elapsed in the meantime, e.g. by investigating the sites at which Aśoka published edicts of a religious nature. The geographical spread of Buddhism which this revealed was compared with the area covered in the canonical texts, which were assumed to reflect accurately the extent of Buddhism at the time of the Buddha. Other papers tried to deduce the nature of Buddhism as depicted by the Aśokan inscriptions, e.g. the development of the cult of previous Buddhas, and tried to define a time lapse for such a development.

Further papers noted that the growth of Buddhism coincided with the growth in trade and the spread of urbanisation, since it is clear that Buddhism appealed to the wealthy middle-class trading community. To some extent this method of enquiry coincided with the archaeological approach, which examined the archaeological evidence for the probable state of development of the towns and cities which the Buddha, according to the canonical texts, visited in his life-time. Another line of approach was to consider the lists of elders who are alleged to have lived between the time of the Buddha or his contemporary Mahāvīra, the Jain leader, and the time of Aśoka. Another was to consider the lists of kings given in the Purāṇas together with the lengths of their reigns, in an attempt to give a date to kings known to be contemporary with the Buddha. Some attention was paid to the possibility of dating the Buddha by means of extra-Indian references, although it was noted that the extant portions of Megasthenes' writings make no reference to Buddhists or Buddhist monuments which he might have been expected to see in Pāṭaliputra, while specific Greek references to the Buddha are too late to be of any value. One paper investigated the possibility of making a contribution to the subject by dating Iranian texts which refer to the Buddha.

All these methods of approach to the problem had both supporters and critics. Several of them suffer from the fact that

they are the products of a form of circular argument, since in many cases the seemingly independent dating of the criteria adopted is in fact based on the assumed date of the Buddha. Other methods suffer from the fact that we do not know whether the evidence is satisfactory. We cannot tell whether the fact that Aśoka's inscriptions addressed to the Sangha are found at a limited number of sites proves that Buddhism spread no further than the confines of those areas. Nor do we know whether it is possible to estimate the state of Buddhism at the time of Aśoka from his inscriptions and, if it is, to date the rate of religious development which they reveal. It is uncertain whether we can rely upon the lengths of reigns of kings and the ages of elders which are given in the texts. It must be remembered that although the spread of Buddhism coincided with urbanisation and the growth of trade, this does not necessarily prove that the origin of Buddhism similarly coincided, since it is quite possible that Buddhism began in a pre-urban rural society but made little progress until the rise of the merchant class.

Some methods could be shown to be of little or no value, at least in our present state of knowledge. In the absence of any way of dating the canonical texts of the various schools of Buddhism, or of measuring the rate of linguistic change, any investigation into the language of the various canons as a means of dating the Buddha would seem unpromising. One or two methods, however, seem to hold out hope of making a contribution to the problem, although in some cases preliminary results appear somewhat contradictory. Archaeological evidence for the date of foundation of some of the cities which the Buddha is alleged to have visited seems to indicate that they could not have been founded as early as the sixth century B.C., which militates against the Buddha having died c.483 B.C. On the other hand, cross-checking the Purāṇic lists against each other seems to indicate that they are consistent in placing the kings who were ruling at the time of the Buddha earlier rather than later. The archaeological evidence, however, is open to the objection that for dates around 500 B.C. the accuracy of Carbon 14 dating is ± 100 years, while the possibility cannot be ruled out that references to cities which did not, in fact, exist at the time of the Buddha may have been inserted anachronistically into the canons for

reasons of prestige or politics. Until we have further evidence for the way in which state archives were kept, e.g. in writing or in some other way, there will be doubts about the accuracy of the information given in the Purāṇic texts. Similarly, the life spans given for elders, both Buddhists and Jains, have been dismissed as inaccurate, although it seems possible that some of the information given about them, particularly the early ones, could be used if great care were taken.

The propriety of the very use of the word 'chronology' in some contexts was questioned, particularly in such phrases as 'The earliest available sources for the long chronology [of 544 B.C.] are the Dīpavaṃsa, the Mahāvāṃsa and the Samantapāsādikā', when what all the sources were doing was repeating the tradition about the elapse of 218 years between the death of the Buddha and the coronation of Aśoka. A warning was uttered against believing implicitly in the regnal years apportioned by the Sinhalese Pāli chronicles. It could be shown that in some cases the chronology was reconstructed by apportioning years arbitrarily on a mythical footing, often based upon the number 18, simply to fill gaps between more certain dates. It therefore followed that any deductions based upon precise regnal years during suspect periods would be equally suspect.

Although there were those who still favoured a date c.483 B.C. for the death of the Buddha, and who spoke firmly in favour of the 'dotted record' of Canton, there was a general tendency among those who tried to date the Buddha to avoid early dates, and settle upon something nearer the short chronology which dates the death of the Buddha c.365 B.C. In its most extreme form this was expressed as a suggestion that Aśoka and Ajātaśatru were identical, which would make the Buddha a contemporary of Aśoka. Such a view could only be tenable on the basis that there was a pre-Buddhist cult of former Buddhas. Although this is not impossible, since the term 'buddha' is common to both Buddhists and Jains and is probably pre-Buddhist, there is no evidence at present for such a cult existing before the time of Gotama Buddha.

It is not unknown for participants in such conferences to come with preconceived ideas which are in no wise changed by

anything which is said at the conference. It was very encouraging, therefore, to hear some participants say, at the end of the Symposium, that they might well have to re-write large portions of their papers in the light of what they had heard in papers and discussions.

For this reason it is not possible, at this point, to give a definitive answer to the question 'What did this symposium achieve?' That answer must await the publication of the proceedings of the meeting, which everyone interested in the subject must hope will not be delayed too long.

K.R. Norman

Ed. The latest (and only?) full-length works on the subject are V.G. Ramachandran *Gauthama the Buddha*. The Date and Time (International Society for the Investigation of Ancient Civilization, Madras 1985), and Shriram Sathe *Dates of the Buddha* (Bharatiya Itihasa Sankalana Samiti, Hyderabad 1987).

Research Institute in India

In his memory and as a tangible and permanent tribute to his own considerable scholarship, the Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap Institute of Buddhist and Asian Studies was established at Sarnath in 1987.

This centre's objectives will be to:

- promote Buddhist and Asian studies, past and present, on a multidisciplinary basis;
- prepare study tools;
- support individual or institutional academic projects related to the Institute;
- maintain and develop a library and documentation centre and to disseminate information;
- publish source materials and translations, periodicals or newsletters;
- sponsor relevant conferences and seminars.

LTWA branch in USA

The first overseas branch of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (Dharamsala) will be opened in Seattle, Washington, under the direction of Jagdal Dagchen Sakya Rinpoche. Apart

from serving the immediate needs of the local Sakyapa gōnpa (of which it will form part), it will encourage interest from the public by means of a reading room and by offering a reference library of books and tapes. The new centre will house collections on Tibetan Buddhism, art, history, language and medicine and will become one of the main repositories for Buddhist and Tibetan texts in the West.

Buddhist Forum 1988-9 at SOAS

This series of seminars on various aspects of Buddhism: history, philosophy, religion, philology, art and architecture, is a continuation of those initiated last academic year. Convened, as before, by Dr T. Skorupski at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 4.30-6.00 pm in Room G58, the first seminar took place on 12 October. Other dates are 9 November, 14 December; and 18 January, 8 February, 8 March and 10 May 1989. Details of the papers and participants are not yet to hand.

BUDDHIST STUDIES REVIEW INDEX

Now that we have completed our fifth volume, it is hoped to produce a comprehensive index up to date for despatch with Vol. 6, No.1.

OBITUARY

RENE DE BERVAL (1911-87)

There can be no journal dealing with cultural relations in Asia which can forget the great model, 'France-Asie, Revue mensuelle de culture et de synthèse franco-asiatique', the some two hundred issues of which appeared over the period from 1946 to the early '70s. It was the reason for living of a French writer and Orientalist, René de Berval, who died in Tokyo on 28 December 1987.

When a great scholar dies, it is usually said that a library has gone with him. In the case of René de Berval, it is less his scholarship that is to be regretted than his prodigious experience. There was even a vague question in Japan of making a film of his life, but the variety and even contradictions of that life would have discouraged any producer. One and the same man was a rising star of the French literary world between the two World Wars, an unflinching fighter in WW2, a publicist who devoted himself totally to the preservation of good sense and sympathy in the still continuing tragedy of ex-French Indochina.

As a young poet, de Berval associated closely with literary personalities in France of whom the best known outside the country was undoubtedly Jean Cocteau. However Parisian and refined they may have been, de Berval's tastes were not reactionary. He was close to the post-surrealist avant-garde, especially the group of the *Grand Jeu*. Was it in that atmosphere that, like Louis Daumal, he came into contact with Indian thought? Did he reach it through the Gnosis of René Guenon? The fact is that Indian, particularly Buddhist, thought, later augmented by a touch of Taoism, was in future to direct his life. Another aspect of his avant-garde position are the articles by him which can be read in the immediate post-War Left-wing journals, *Marianne*, *Vendredi* and *Vendémiaire*. By allowing Spanish intellectuals who had escaped the Francoist Obscurantism to speak, he was preparing his role as editor of *France-Asie*.

During the Second World War he followed General Leclerc to Indochina where he was able to realise his dream of knowing Asia which was not, at that time, within reach of the first charter

flight. He had the good luck, while travelling there, to touch both poles of Indo-Chinese culture: India, due to a long stopover in Calcutta, then prey to confrontations between Hindus and Muslims; China, where he drew to the cause of Free France soldiers of the army of Indochina who had taken refuge in Yunnan after the Japanese power's coup in March 1945.

On the launching wrapper of the first issue of *France-Asie* (15 April 1946), Leclerc had written: 'To members of the Expeditionary Corps *France-Asie* will contribute knowledge of that Indochina which they have just liberated.' In fact, this was not the tone given to the young journal in an Indochina which was still highly colonial, where opinion was often led by the journal *L'Union française* of Henry de Lachevrière. René de Berval was not a conformist, nor the least timid - as is known by all those who knew him but a little. Frail in appearance, he was incredibly tough.

France-Asie rapidly became a fascinating journal. It had three orientations: to make known the cultures of Asia, to reflect cultural life in the West, and to constitute a forum for cultural and often political exchanges between East and West. Its contributors and readers were Vietnamese as well as French. In the Orientalist field, *France-Asie* benefited from the beginning from the collaboration of the *Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*. In the Western sphere, de Berval benefited from his old contacts in France. Finally, the forums played the part of an indispensable buffer between an authority, for which de Berval constituted a more or less tolerated opponent, and the various Independent tendencies, which found it much harder to make themselves heard. Each issue was an act of faith in the future of Vietnam. Nonetheless, it was not the Vietminh who expelled de Berval from Saigon, but the pro-American regime of the Catholic mandarin Ngo Dinh Diem.

René de Berval established *France-Asie* in Japan in 1960. René Capitant, the dynamic director of the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* in Tokyo, hoped for the presence of the journal in Japan in order to give new impetus to Franco-Japanese cultural cooperation. Unfortunately, even after becoming bi-lingual (French-English), the journal was unable to count on a vast public capable of read-

ing Western languages. On the other hand, Vietnam, welcoming and politically enthusiastic, was very different from the low-profile Japan of the '60s, haunted by problems of economy and profitability. Perhaps unjustly, de Berval took the reserve of the Japanese for coldness, and their over-sentimentality for heaviness and vulgarity. Nonetheless, issues 164-182 of *France-Asie* are of high quality. It was after the transfer to Paris, when de Berval held only nominal direction 'for Asia', that the issues (183-203, 1964-70) became more lifeless. An attempt at a resurrection under new direction occurred in 1974 (issues 204-207) but, just as the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* are inconceivable without Charles Péguy, there could be no *France-Asie* without René de Berval.

Practically without knowing it, de Berval could still help his friends in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos by means of broadcasts in French which he produced for some time on NHK. During the Khmer Rouge turmoil several prisoners, including his friend Norodom Sihanouk, kept in touch with the world thanks to its voice.

René de Berval fell ill and was abandoned by the NHK. After having benefited from the translation of certain works commissioned by the Sokagakkai (without - it must be acknowledged - any pressure being put on this Buddhist who called himself a Theravādin, but who was above all an adherent of the Doctrine of Emptiness), de Berval was able to devote his final - and immense - energy to a project which was to reach fruition just before he died. In the last issues of *France-Asie* which appeared in Vietnam, he had published a compendium of more than 1,000 pages entitled 'Presence du Bouddhisme'. The publishers, Editions Gallimard, offered to republish in their collection 'Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires' a new edition of this work with numerous up-datings. This project enabled him to renew contact with the survivors among the contributors of the original work. He also wanted to bear testimony to the martyred Buddhism of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. When, at the beginning of December 1987, he received the first copy of his work, 'rejuvenated' with much success, the hearts of his friends were wrung: had the effort to reach the culmination not been his last links which held him to life? He died in the Mitsui Memorial Hospital in Tokyo. After a Buddhist ceremony on the forty-ninth day, which took

place on 11 February 1988 in the Asakusa temple, his ashes were enshrined in a crematorium belonging to the Higashi Honganji in Yamashima (Kyoto).

Hubert Durt

Ed. Abridged and translated from *La Voix*, Spring 1988.

PRESENCE DU BOUDDHISME

edited by René de Berval
(in French)

A brief summary of contents and contributors, with preliminary notices by P. Lévy, J. Filliozat and R. de Berval:

BUDDHISM

- I Comparative Approach: P. Mus, G. Tucci, P. Schuon.
- II The Original Doctrine: Ven. Nyānatiloka, Ven. W. Rāhula, Ven. Nārada, I.B. Horner, A. Bareau.
- III The Texts: S. Thierry.
- IV The Swing towards Mysticism: Sr. Dharmaraksitā, N. Dutt, D.T. Suzuki, D. Delannoy.
- V The Diffusion: A. Bareau, J. Filliozat, P. Lévy.
- VI Conclusions: J. Filliozat, J. Auboyer, B.R. Ambedkar, E. Lamotte.

EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM IN ASIA

Chronology by R. de Berval.

- I The Hīnayāna: D.T. Valisinha, D.T. Devendra, J. Perrin, L. Gabaude, P.-B. Lafont, Ven. Pang Khat.
- II The Mahāyāna: A. Migot, R. Ki-yong, G. Renondeau & B. Frank, A. David-Neel, L.-G. Damaïs, Mai-Tho-Truyên.

Glossary, Bibliography, Contributors, Maps and Illustrations
816 pp. 151 illustrations FF 360

Bibliothèque illustrée des Histoires

Editions Gallimard
5 rue Sébastien-Bottin
F-75007 PARIS, France

BOOK REVIEWS

Heart of Wisdom : A Commentary to the Heart Sūtra. Geshe Kelsang Gyatso. Tharpa Publications, London 1986. xix, 210 pp. £6.95.

Geshe Kelsang Gyatso, who was born in Western Tibet in 1932, was ordained when he was eight and studied at Sera College, the famous monastic university near Lhasa, before fleeing Tibet in 1959. He first came to the West in 1977, and has since then held the position of resident teacher at Manjushri Institute in Ulverston (England). Among his publications, best known is the excellent *Meaningful to Behold*, an extensive commentary on Śāntideva's 'Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra', which originated as a verse by verse oral commentary given to his students at the Institute and later worked up by them into book form. Encouraged, perhaps, by the success of this earlier collaborative effort, the Geshe and his students have now gone on to present in book form his commentary on one of the best-loved of all Mahāyāna texts, the brief but extremely important Hṛdaya or Heart Sūtra, here called the *Heart of Wisdom*. It is the longer of the two versions which has been chosen for treatment, and the commentary itself, which has been organized along traditional lines, is in accord with the interpretation of Jé Tsongkhapa. The Sūtra has been divided into numbered sections with the meaning of each being explained in turn and, to facilitate reference, a complete outline, in which each numbered section has been given yet another number (the outline code), is provided at the end of the book. Despite this somewhat technical approach, we are assured that the book is 'not primarily aimed at academic scholars, but is intended for those who wish to gain practical benefit from a better understanding of Buddha's teachings'. We are further informed that the Heart Sūtra was selected for commentary because it is in the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras that 'the Buddha sets forth his ultimate view of the nature of reality'; and the Heart Sūtra contains, 'explicitly or implicitly', the essence and entire meaning of those longer sūtras. Although this Sūtra, dealing as it does with the knotty concept of 'emptiness', is by no means an easy text, with patient study and contemplation it can be fully understood, and it is the aim of Geshe Kelsang's commentary to help promote just such a full understanding.

Besides the commentary proper, which takes up a lengthy 141 pages, the book is provided with a Preface by Philip Wood, a running translation of the Sūtra, a concluding chapter (12) which describes 'A Method to Overcome Hindrances' through recitation of the Sūtra, notes, a somewhat skimpy bibliography about which I shall have more to say later, an extensive English-Tibetan glossary (although the Tibetan text of the Sūtra is not given) into which a few Sanskrit terms have been inserted, the 'Outline of the Text', and a fairly detailed index. Physically the book is a sturdy and well-designed paperback, in a beautifully illustrated stiff paper cover, is printed on excellent paper in a large, clear and handsome typeface, and contains, as an added bonus, fifteen line illustrations. So well designed and produced is this book, in fact, that if the ink had been a little more uniformly black it would have little difficulty passing as a fine press book.

One of the first things that one notices when one begins to read this splendidly produced book is the absence of capitals on words such as 'mahayana', 'buddhism', 'bodhisattva', 'tathagata', and so on. No explanation is given for this procedure, but insofar as certain of these words are numinous terms whose meaning cannot ultimately be exhausted, it certainly seems to me that they deserve the dignity of capitalization. Another feature one notes, this one perfectly reasonable, is that the spelling of Sanskrit words has been 'anglicized' ('shravaka', 'klesha', 'Rajagriha', etc.) so as to avoid the troublesome, expensive and, for the general reader, meaningless business of diacritics (which do not even appear in the glossary or index). More important, and in accordance with the best modern practice, is the way that the Sanskrit (or Tibetan) has occasionally been given in parentheses following certain technical terms: 'great being (*mahasattva*)', mind of enlightenment (*bodhicitta*)', 'space (*nam mkha*)', etc. This, if it had been carried out consistently and through to the end (it seems to peter out at a certain point), would have been splendid, for it is the only way to make Buddhist works intelligible, whether they are destined for an academic or a general readership. Perhaps the lack of consistency in this respect stems from a fear of making the book appear too difficult or obscure, a fear that may also be reflected in the

book's preference for translated terminology: 'superior being' for *arya*; 'hearer' for *shravaka*; 'solitary conqueror' for *pratyeka-buddha*; 'foe-destroyer' for *arhat*, and so on.

The book's English, although generally correct, is marked by a certain aridity (Oh, when will we ever again see such a master of English prose as Conze writing on Buddhist subjects!), and one notes the occasional lapse, as, for instance, on p. ix: 'The wish to be free from suffering... is the basic desire of all beings: it was (sic) at the time of the Buddha etc.', instead of 'it was so at the time of the Buddha'; or on p. 13: 'There was another reason that (sic) Buddha radiated light etc.', instead of (since it is not one Buddha among several that is being referred to) 'There was another reason why the Buddha radiated light etc.'. In both cases the writing is misleading and ambiguous because it has become too informal and relaxed. A weak and uninteresting treatment of English is, however, often evident in books produced by Tibetophiles, though why this should be so I do not know. Perhaps their study of Tibetan, which is, by all accounts, a monotonous and unmusical language (like Japanese), has served to destroy their ear for the sounds and natural rhythms of English. But whatever may be the case, it is this aridity of style, coupled with the fussy and pedantic outline which has been imposed upon the book, that makes it for me such a difficult book to read. Because of the outline approach, an approach initially worked out in India to facilitate the memorization of texts and borrowed from India by the Tibetans, everything must be explained, including the outline itself, and whether the commentator has anything of significance to say or not. With a masterpiece such as Śgam.po.pa's *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, where the subject matter is far more varied and interesting, the form is not quite so obtrusive. Here, however, it seems to lead to a great deal of dullness and wordiness, and even at times to a certain silliness, as on p. 5: 'This sutra is given the name "Mother" because the perfection of wisdom that it reveals is often called "Mother".' Black cats, in short, are black because cats are often black. This is pure tautology, tells us nothing, and seems to me to be a sheer waste of time.

So far as I can see, what we have here is not really a book for the general reader at all. One need only compare the biblio-

graphy of Geshe Kelsang's earlier *Meaningful to Behold* (1980 edition) with that of the *Heart of Wisdom* to see that something has happened. The earlier bibliography is much fuller (48 items), more general, and contains titles by writers such as Blofeld, Chang, Conze, Merton and even Paramahansa Yogananda. The latter bibliography contains only nine titles, all exclusively Tibetan, and it completely ignores the many important Indian, Chinese and Japanese commentaries which are currently available in English. It also fails to mention the alternative translations, from the Sanskrit and Chinese, that any serious student of this Sūtra (whether academic or otherwise) ought to be familiar with. The *Heart of Wisdom* is evidently a sectarian and somewhat specialized book, directed at those Tibetophiles who have an abiding interest in what one such has described to me as 'the pure doctrine of Jé Tsongkhapa'. To all such, I do not doubt that what strikes me as pedantic, tedious, wordy and unhelpful, could well be the purest of gold.

To the general reader I would recommend, at least to start with, not so much a study of Geshe Kelsang's somewhat dry and difficult commentary, as memorization of the Sūtra upon which it is based (preferably in Conze's shorter and more euphonious version). This ought to be followed by a reading of Ch'an Master Han Shan's 'A Straight Talk on the Heart Sūtra'¹ (which has at least the advantage of brevity), and Francis Cook's essay on Dōgen, 'Dōgen's View of Authentic Selfhood and its Socio-ethical Implications'², where the student will learn (among other things) just why it is far better to translate *śūnyatā* as 'openness' instead of Geshe Kelsang's more orthodox, and more obscure, 'emptiness'. Finally, and in order to attain to at least the beginning of an understanding of this obscure but key concept of 'openness/emptiness', a concept that might otherwise remain puzzling for years, the student should read Douglas Harding's unique and invaluable *On Having No Head*³. Having thus memorized the Sūtra, arrived at a general idea of what it is about, and developed some insight into its central concept of 'openness/emptiness', the interested student, always supposing that he is keen to find out just what the Gelug lineage has to say about this Sūtra, will be prepared to turn to Geshe Kelsang's exhaustive commentary. To those thus prepared and motivated, the *Heart of Wisdom* might

well do a deal of good, but to the unprepared it seems to me that it would be much more likely to dampen than promote interest in this most fascinating of texts.

¹ In Lu K'uan Yü (Charles Luk), *Ch'an and Zen Teaching : Series One*. Rider, London 1960, pp.209-23.

² In William R. LaFleur, ed., *Dōgen Studies*. Univ. of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 1985, pp.131-49. See, especially, p.139: 'Recent translations of the Sanskrit Buddhist term *śūnyatā* as "boundless openness", "luminosity", and the like by Herbert Gunther (sic), Masao Abe, and others is (sic) in many ways preferable to the older, widespread translation of the term as 'emptiness'. These newer translations avoid the negative flavour of "emptiness"...'.

³ *On Having No Head : Zen and the Re-Discovery of the Obvious*. 2nd rev. ed., Arkana, London 1986.

A. Saroop

The History of the Buddha's Religion (Sāsanavaṃsa). Translated by Bimala Churn Law, Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica No.29. Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi 1986. xvii, 174 pp. Rs 120.

The Sāsanavaṃsa was written in Pāli in Burma in 1861 by Paṇḍita Sāmi, the tutor of King Min-dōn-min, who held the Fifth Buddhist Council between 1868 and 1871. It is based upon an earlier work written in Burmese in 1831, which in turn was presumably based upon earlier sources. The additions made cover the period from 1831 to 1860. It begins with an account of the first three Buddhist Councils, and then deals with the history of the Doctrine in the nine places to which Aśoka sent missionaries, laying especial emphasis upon the history of the Dhamma in Sīhala, Suvannabhūmi, and Aparanta, which is interpreted as being part of Burma, as opposed to the western part of India. Included in this historical account are many details of authors and the works they wrote, and Paṇḍita Sāmi frequently states the texts which he is using as an authority for the statements he makes. The work is useful for the information it includes about the history of Buddhism and the books which were written, particularly in Burma, in mediaeval times.

The Pāli text of the Sāsanavaṃsa was published by the Pāli

Text Society in 1897. Despite the fact that it appeared less than forty years after its composition, the text is very corrupt and in places hard to understand, and B.C. Law's translation is a useful companion to have at hand when dealing with it. It has been difficult to obtain in recent years, and its re-appearance in the Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica series will help to make it more widely available. The reverse of the title page states that it was first published in Calcutta in 1952, but this would seem to be not entirely correct. Although the book was printed in Calcutta, it was actually published in London, by Luzac & Co. Ltd., on behalf of the PTS, as Volume 27 of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists series, as p.xiii of the Introduction makes clear. There is no evidence at the Pāli Text Society was consulted before this reprint was made.

K.R. Norman

The Jewel in the Lotus A Guide to the Buddhist Traditions of Tibet. Edited by Stephen Batchelor. Wisdom Publications, London 1987. 280 pp. £9.95.

Through Tibetan teachers travelling far and wide and through translations and other books on the subject, the knowledge and practice of the four main Tibetan Buddhist traditions have spread to the Western world. According to their dispositions and inclinations, Westerners have embraced the tradition of their choice. Some, not yet having made up their minds, wonder if the particular lineage they first met with is the right one for them, having heard of the others. Others, having made their choice and having seen the wondrous qualities of their own tradition, while not knowing enough about the others, may look down upon and even criticize other traditions. This is a dangerous path and one that arises from ignorance, not only of other lineages, but even of one's own.

Stephen Batchelor has wisely put together an anthology containing selected representative texts from the main Buddhist traditions of Tibet. His aim, he says, is to introduce newcomers to all the four main traditions. However, I think it is a book that veterans from all four lineages could digest.

The book begins with a brief account of the establishment

of Buddhism in Tibet from the fifth to the twelfth century. Then follows a general synopsis of the Mahāyāna Buddhist path to Enlightenment touching upon all the principal themes - compassion, wisdom, refuge etc., and ending with the four classes of Tantra. This part has been written by the editor himself, and very well written at that. The meaning comes across clearly with a cohesive continuity. The approach and style is Geluk, but this he recognises and freely admits: 'Although I have sought to be as objective as possible, I recognise that much of what I say will inevitably reflect my own training as a monk in the Geluk tradition.'

After a chapter entitled Buddhocracy, in which the editor discusses the social influence Buddhism had on Tibet, together with a very brief account of the histories of the four lineages, the main part of the book opens with the Kadampa tradition. Although the Kadampas are not included in the big four, being forerunners of the Geluk and contributors to the Kagyu, they nevertheless deserve to be a tradition in their own right with their unique, earthy style. The Kadampa masters are best known for their practical discourses and straightforward advice on Dharma practice. A selection of such advices is presented here. It includes those by Atīśa, the founder, his main disciple Drom and other subsequent masters, concluding with a wonderful piece from Geshe Shabogaypa criticising himself for being a poor and hypocritical practitioner, but one immediately takes it as hard-hitting advice for oneself. The texts, in an abridged form, are taken from the *Door of Liberation*, an anthology translated by Geshe Wangyal and his disciples in New Jersey.

The next section presents the Kagyu tradition and what better representative than Jetsun Milarepa to reveal the true spirit of this tradition. Milarepa is one of the most famous Tibetan yogis both inside and outside Tibet. His songs are both inspirational and profound, his enthusiasm and austerity legendary, his endurance of hardships and devotion to his Guru almost unimaginable. All traditions revere him and his exploits and songs are often recounted to inspire disciples. Three of these songs, or more properly collections of songs, are reproduced here. They have been taken from *The Rain of Wisdom*, translated by the Nalanda Translation Committee in Boulder, Colorado.

The chapter on the Nyingma presents a commentary by the renowned yogi Longchen Rabjampa on Gampopa's Four Themes: 1) Turning the Mind to the Dharma, 2) Practising the Dharma as a Path, 3) Removing Confusion while on the Path and 4) Purifying Confusion into Pristine Awareness. Longchenpa was one of the most famous Nyingma practitioners and received oral transmissions from both Sakya and Kadam traditions. The commentary introduces the doctrine of Dzog-chen, a speciality of the Nyingma, in conjunction with Tantric practices. The text was originally translated by Alex Berzin and Sherpa Tulku.

The Geluk section presents a text - or more precisely a letter - by Jê Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Geluk tradition. It deals with all the main points of the Graduated Path to Enlightenment (Lam-Rim) including Tantra and a fairly detailed explanation of Mādhyamika philosophy. The text was translated under the title 'A Brief Exposition of the Main Points of the Graded Sūtra and Tantra courses to Enlightenment'.

Finally, the chapter on the Sakya tradition deals with a fundamental Sakya teaching, the Parting from the Four Attachments: 1) the attachment to this life, 2) attachment to Samsāra, 3) attachment to self and 4) attachment to true existence. The original teaching was given by Mañjuśrī who appeared in a vision to the Sakya master Sachen Kunga Nyingpo at the age of twelve. The text here is a commentary to that teaching by the fifteenth century Sakya master Ngorchén Kunga Zangpo with sūtras added by Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo. The text describes in great detail the sufferings found in the six realms of existence and is, in fact, a brief exposition of the complete path to Enlightenment. It was translated into English by Sakya Trizin (the present head of the Sakya tradition) and Ngawang Samten Chopel.

The book comes to a close with a transcript of a talk given by His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Washington, D.C., in 1979. Here he talks simply and beautifully on his favourite topic of love and compassion. The text is taken from a collection of his teachings on *Kindness, Clarity and Insight*, translated by Jeffrey Hopkins.

Whatever other differences there are in the doctrines of the four traditions, it is clear that the fundamental beliefs

and methods of practice are the same. There is a difference in the way of approaching the ultimate truth but H.H. the Dalai Lama is of the opinion that the ultimate truth can be finally understood by following the methods of any of the four traditions. Hopefully, this book will go some way in bringing about such an understanding to the Western world.

Gavin Kilty

Der historische Buddha ('Le Bouddha historique'). Hans Wolfgang Schumann. Eugen Diederichs Verlag, Cologne 1982. 320 pp., 16 images et cartes. DM 39,40.

Ce livre de H.W. Schumann est un volume supplémentaire aux autres oeuvres de langue allemande qu'il a écrit, et qui parle d'une manière vivante du bouddhisme (voir aussi: *Buddhismus - Stifter, Schulen und Systeme* ('Le Bouddhisme, son fondateur, les écoles et les systèmes'), 4e édition 1976). L'auteur nous montre de façon bien claire tous les indices permettant de reconstituer la vie du Bouddha. Ainsi le lecteur est tout de suite introduit dans le monde de l'Inde actuel et ancien à l'aide d'une comparaison des époques. L'itinéraire à travers les pays du Bouddha fait revivre toutes les cartes et les plans précis de travail archéologique, ainsi que les diverses citations des discours doctrinaires tirés du Canon pāli.

Le lecteur occidental en particulier peut découvrir ici la vie d'un homme qui devient sage et qui jusqu'à ses derniers moments s'exerçait à un réalisme rigoureux.

En outre l'auteur examine les aspects politiques et sociaux de l'ancien Inde du Nord et donne aussi à l'homme de formation occidentale, habitué à penser de façon historique, un moyen de bien comprendre l'esprit de l'époque du Bouddha. Il compare d'autres caractères humains de l'époque avec le Bouddha et il nous montre ainsi des structures psychologiques très différentes qui expliquent d'un côté la particularité du Bouddha en indiquant de l'autre côté la possibilité de l'approche à sa doctrine. Par conséquent, une partie de ce livre est dédiée au développement de l'Ordre, et sa structure spirituelle, religieuse et sociologique développée au cours du livre nous donne déjà une idée de l'Ordre et de son entourage dans les premiers temps.

Il se peut que des bouddhologues puissent y trouver des points litigieux, comme par exemple le date de naissance du Bouddha (voir p.ex. *Die Lebenszeit des Buddha - das älteste feststehende Datum der indischen Geschichte?* Heinz Bechert, Göttingen 1986, p.151 [25]), mais la valeur inestimable de ce livre repose dans la présentation moderne d'une biographie avec toutes les possibilités d'évolution spirituelle d'un homme qui a vécu il y a plus de 2000 ans, ayant pourtant toujours une grande influence et qui nous révèle continuellement des formes nouvelles à découvrir concernant la question essentielle de notre existence humaine.

Dankmar Bangert

traduction française par

Monika Schlinkmann

The Last Dalai Lama. A Biography. Michael Harris Goodman. Sidgwick & Jackson, London, and Shambhala, Boston, 1986. xiii, 364 pp. £15 and \$15.85.

Tibet has long fascinated the West. Surrounded and protected by the Himalayas, its inaccessibility has only promoted the attraction towards its magic and mystery in the minds of the curious. Before the Tibetans were forced into exile, it was perceived by some as the fabled Shangri-la. Since that time Tibetan culture and religion have found their way into the world, accessible to all, either by direct contact with lamas in India and the West or through the medium of the many books translated or written on the subject. Tibetan Buddhist centres have sprung up around the world, while the Religion and Occult shelves of most western European and North American bookshops stock publications on Tibetan Buddhism.

But what of Tibet and the Tibetans themselves? What of their history - especially their recent history? Granted that students of religion may not be students of history or social change, that those of a religious bent may not be inclined to the comparatively dry study of politics and history, yet the world has shown, and continues to show, a terrible neglect of the tragic events which overtook Tibetans in the 'fifties when their entire way of life, their peaceful, harmonious and fun-loving existence was cruelly turned upside down and transformed into a nightmare

by the invaders from the East who absurdly portrayed themselves as liberators. True, there are books and other documented evidence on these recent events and on Tibetan history in general, albeit much of it was implemented by the Tibetans themselves. True, that the International Commission of Jurists concluded that acts of genocide had been committed by the Chinese in attempting to destroy the Tibetans as a religious group. Yet it is also painfully true that the world stood by with indifference - some of it callous - when the Tibetans cried out for international help as the PLA overran their country. It is also factually recorded that the U.N. General Assembly declined to discuss the question of Tibet at that time on the initiative of the British government. And it is true that even today any mention of Tibet conjures up first and foremost a land of magic and mystery and not a country whose peace, culture and almost its very existence have been devastated by a fanatical ideology. This book, hopefully, will go a long way in remedying this deficiency.

Many observers, the present Dalai Lama among them, have suggested that Tibet's own conservatism contributed to their loss of independence; that their unwillingness in the decades during and after the Second World War to involve themselves both politically and technologically with a rapidly changing world, whose international relations were becoming increasingly important for security in times of crisis, only sealed their political confinement in a naturally secured geographical isolation. The Tibetan government's refusal to allow the Americans a supply route through Tibet to aid the Chinese during the war and monastic opposition to the setting up of British schools in Tibet are instances of this attitude cited in the book.

Tibet is no stranger to invasion - although not on the scale of the Communist takeover - and the present Dalai Lama is not the first of his line to seek temporary refuge in a neighbouring country. Tibet's history is one of fluctuating relationships with her Central Asian neighbours - predominantly the Mongols and the Manchus - where the ambiguous roles of patron overlord and ruler were shuffled delicately around. The author, however, goes to great lengths to point out that at no time in her history was Tibet's standing as an independent self-contained nation in doubt. This claim he backs with historical evidence. What

is certainly true is that from 1911, after the overthrow of the Manchu régime, the Tibetans enjoyed an era of peace and stability that lasted until the Chinese Communists decided to 'liberate' them.

No book on Tibet's history would be complete without an understanding of that unique and remarkable system that perpetuates the lineage of the Dalai Lama. That a religion which believes that all beings are reborn after death and that those with a high level of spiritual attainment should be sought out again to continue their work of benefiting mankind is nothing unexceptional for those of that faith, yet the process of search and discovery makes fascinating reading while the astonishment of those few Westerners fortunate enough to have witnessed such events has been well recorded.

Like its history, Tibet's fourteen Dalai Lamas have had chequered careers. Four died before they reached the age of twenty-one and murder has not been ruled out. One, the sixth, was seemingly wayward, others were more contemplative, spending a great deal of time in religious pursuits. The fifth and the thirteenth are memorable for their secular achievements. All were highly religious men worshipped and revered by Tibetans. Of course, the Dalai Lamas were not the only incarnate Lamas revered in Tibet. Each of the four monastic traditions had its own religious head and many great lamas were to be found among them.

The title of the book is *The Last Dalai Lama* and this has been criticised elsewhere as a 'cheap, attention grabbing device', for nowhere in his talks and works has the present Dalai Lama, or any of the past Dalai Lamas for that matter, categorically stated that there will be no fifteenth Dalai Lama and the idea would certainly not originate from any other Tibetan. What he has said on a number of occasions, however, is that the institution of the Dalai Lamas serves a useful function only as long as it fulfils the needs of Tibet and Tibetans. His Holiness is no believer in tradition for tradition's sake. While he, as a Mahāyāna practitioner, surely will be reborn, he may not take the title of fifteenth Dalai Lama if the need is not there. Moreover, he has even suggested that in this era of democracy the title of Dalai Lama be awarded to a suitable, religious scholar and rotated every seven years or so. All this has been docu-

mented by the author and I feel the criticism of the title is a little harsh because what is certain is that even with her independence regained, the Tibet of old with its feudal structure will not return. In fact, the present Dalai Lama began dismantling this structure even before he left Tibet. So in that sense the fourteenth is certainly the last of the old order.

This book, then, charts in tandem the history of Tibet from its early origins to those fateful days in 1959 and the lives of its Dalai Lamas from the first in the fourteenth century to the present in exile in his refugee settlement in North India. The bulk of the book, however, is given over to that turbulent decade of the 'fifties and to the life of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama. The author's biographical sources are many and varied. The list is quite impressive, including as it does both Communist and non-Communist material, Tibetan and non-Tibetan, old and new. He has been able to weave his information neatly into the framework of his story. By far the most delightful and moving parts of the book are those constructed from interviews the author conducted with Tibetans involved in the events concerned. These include the Dalai Lama himself, his mother, his brothers, his tutors, retired government officials, ex-guerrilla fighters and other observers. The Dalai Lama's childhood, his experiences and education in the Potala, and some of his innermost thoughts and decisions during those first troubled years of his reign, are almost exclusively gleaned from these sources. The observations and feelings of those involved in the fighting in Kham and Lhasa are also particularly memorable.

One issue comes up again and again in the book and stands out clearly during the process of the Chinese takeover. This is the debate between passive resistance using the weapons of negotiation and armed resistance with its guerrilla warfare. While the former was the policy of the Tibetan government in those times, the latter was taken up by the more warrior-like Khampas of Eastern Tibet. The Dalai Lama, a young man in his twenties, and his government adopted the policy of not aggravating the Chinese, of acquiescing to their demands and even going along with their ideological pronouncements in the hope that truth, commonsense and negotiation would win the day. It must be remembered that at first the Chinese did not march ruthlessly

over Tibet crushing opposition with barbaric force - that came later. Their campaign was ideological in nature; they gave assurances, made promises whilst keeping up a relentless propaganda tirade. They initiated the notorious seventeen-point agreement which, although craftily worded, seemed to give Tibet sovereignty over her own affairs. The 13th Dalai Lama said that the Chinese way was to do something mild and if that met with no objection, do something stronger. Therefore there was always ample space for negotiation even though the Tibetan government never trusted the Chinese for a moment.

The reasons for this passive approach to a beguiling invader whose ultimate purpose was never well-camouflaged are twofold: religious and commonsense. The Dalai Lama was following the Buddhist principle of non-violence. He firmly believes that violence should never be used arbitrarily to bring about solutions to crises and he frequently quoted Mahatma Gandhi as a source of inspiration in those troubled times. However, he also believes that in the last resort, and if the cause is wholesome, it is permissible; but, and this is where the second reason prevailed, commonsense told him that any violent uprising on the part of the Tibetans would only result in their wholesale massacre, for the Chinese had far superior weaponry, including heavy artillery, an unending supply of ammunition and were numerically superior. The Tibetan arsenal was antiquated, almost primitive and pitifully inadequate. It would, His Holiness said, have been suicide.

Reliving the course of these tragic events, one's sympathies swing between the level-headed commonsense approach of the Tibetan government and the emotional gut reaction of the Khampa warriors, who organised a guerrilla movement led by Gampo Tashi and met with some success, but their resilience and unquestioned bravery were no match for the military might of the Chinese. With the hindsight of the success of the Afghan freedom fighters in a similar situation, one often feels frustration that the Tibetan government did nothing time and time again in the face of the cold, creeping ideological oppression that was eventually to swallow a whole nation. One wonders if, with such hindsight and with the weight of international outrage, so pitifully lacking, behind them, the Dalai Lama might have reacted differently. Yet it was not to be. The world forgot about Tibet, giving the

Chinese a free hand to complete 'their insidious task of blotting out an entire culture, of suppressing its beloved faith and of subjugating a free people with humiliation, imprisonment, torture and execution, all in the name of liberation.

The book closes with a touching account of life in exile for His Holiness in Dharamsala where, in an interview with the author, he reflects on the events of the past twenty years. For those who have met him and spent some time with Tibetans in exile there can be no doubt on whose side the truth lies and one can only hope that this book will go a long way towards spreading that truth.

Gavin Kilty

Linguistic Approach to Buddhist Thought. Genjun H. Sasaki. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1986. x, 194 pp. Rs.125.

This volume contains a number of articles, some previously published or read at conferences and other written especially for it, arranged under two main headings: Early Buddhist concepts and Abhidharmic concepts. The author's intention is to establish the relationship between certain Pāli words used in Theravādin texts with their equivalents in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, especially those of the Sarvāstivādins, but not excluding some belonging to Mahāyāna schools. He is especially interested in Pāli words whose etymology is ambiguous.

In the first essay he considers the way in which Pāli *nekkhamma*, which can in theory be equivalent to both Sanskrit *naiṣkramya* and *naiṣkāmya*, is always Sanskritised as *naiṣkramya*. In other essays he deals with Pāli *attamaṇa*, which is taken to be the equivalent of Sanskrit *ātma-maṇa* and *ātta-* or *āpta-maṇa*, and Pāli *dīpa*, which can stand for either Sanskrit *dīpa* 'lamp' or *dvīpa* 'island'. The second section includes essays on such important concepts as the meaning of truth, the three modes of knowledge and the concept of time in Abhidharma philosophy. In these papers also especial emphasis is laid upon linguistic matters, such as the relationship between Pāli *sammuti* and Sanskrit *saṃvṛti*, and Pāli *khanti* and Sanskrit *kānti*. When dealing with such detailed linguistic matters verbal accuracy is essential, and in this respect it is to be regretted that Sasaki has

not been well served by his printer or proof readers. Printing errors are rather frequent, and one quotation is repeated on facing pages (pp.60 and 61) in forms so different, because of misprints, that it is barely recognisable as the same passage.

Prof. Sasaki is quite correct to emphasise the importance of following a linguistic approach to Buddhist thought, but one of the problems about reprinting articles and papers in book form is that ideas which when first published were new and even revolutionary later became well-known and taken for granted, particularly in the West, although they may still be rather less well-known to some Indian and Japanese scholars. There is no indication of the date when the constituent parts of this book were first published, or the journals in which they first appeared. Nor are we told which chapters were specially written for the book. It is consequently impossible to assess the degree of originality which Sasaki's ideas had when first published. A second problem is that there can be no reference to new theories which have been published since the original papers appeared, e.g. in the discussion of the meaning of Pāli *anamatagga* a number of explanations are given, but the most likely, that by Thomas Burrow linking it to the root *mā-* 'to measure', which presumably appeared after Sasaki's article was published, is not mentioned.

The book ends with two appendices, written in German. Sasaki himself makes no mention of them in his Preface, but on the book's dust jacket it is stated that they have been added 'so that the linguistic information about the terminology might be related to the evolution of Buddhist thought'. They are entitled 'Zwei Lehrweise des Gotamo Buddhō - *pariyāya* und *nippariyāya*' and 'Indische Grundlage des japanischen Buddhismus'. These are presumably articles written while Sasaki was a Visiting Professor in Germany, which have been added at the end of the book because they did not fit well into the two sections into which his other papers have been arranged. It would be interesting to know what Indian and Japanese readers, for whom this book is presumably intended, make of them.

K.R. Norman

Self and Non-Self in Early Buddhism. Joaquín Pérez-Remón. Mouton Publishers, The Hague 1980. xii, 412 pp. DM 110.

This book is based on a Ph.D. thesis originally submitted to Bombay University. Its stated aim is to elucidate the *anattā* doctrine through a detailed study of the original Pāli sources (essentially, the Suttapiṭaka, plus relevant material from the Vinayapiṭaka, with some reference to the commentaries).

The author, a Spanish scholar on the faculty of the Jesuit University of Deusto, in Bilbao, brings impressive credentials to the task: a thoroughgoing knowledge of Pāli, familiarity with the texts, philosophical acumen, sharp critical skills are all very much in evidence. The resulting book is immensely erudite and carefully constructed. It is also intensely disappointing. Disappointing because all this knowledge and labour are mobilized merely to underpin yet another attempt by a non-Buddhist to tell Buddhists that they are all wrong, and have been for some 2,500 years, in believing that *anattā* is what the Buddha in fact taught.

The procedure, though complex and subtle in its application, is basically simple; the Nikāyas, accepted as being 'the documents that can bring us closest to the personal source of what later came to be called Buddhism' (p.2), are suitably analyzed to 'prove' that the *anattā* doctrine taught therein 'does not say simply that the self has no reality at all' (p.304), but rather that in it the 'true self', which is 'transcendent reality' (morally and metaphysically, see p.276 ff) 'is never brought into question' (p.304). And from that it is a short step to the conclusion: 'Original Buddhism belonged by right of birth to the non-Brahmanic world, where the plurality of selves was accepted as a matter of fact. If then the ultimate reality in each man is said to be transcendent what else can that reality in every man be but man's true self? This transcendent self was the one asserted whenever one was made to say of the empirical factors, "This is not mine, this I am not, this is not my self", a formula that equivalently says, "I am beyond all this, my self transcends all this".' (p.305).

Fr Pérez-Remón's argument is, of course, the old 'pro-soul' one: the *attā* which the Buddha shows up as illusory is that composed of the five *khandhas* (the 'empirical factors', in this

author's terminology); this is indeed impermanent and subject to *dukkha*; *anattā* (suitably substantivized as the non-self) is its opposite; therefore *anattā* is permanent and not subject to *dukkha*, i.e. an eternal, transcendent entity; QED.

The difference between Pérez-Remón and other propounders of the soul-theory is that he has worked very hard on the texts, from all angles (linguistic, logical, historical, philosophical). Enormous thought and industry have gone into a task of exegesis for which the author is no doubt well qualified by training. However, it is all vitiated by the clearly unshakeable conviction, in his own mind, that there cannot not be such a thing as an eternal soul in man. In view of his own cultural and religious background, this is quite understandable. Unfortunately, it means that all the resources of his formidable scholarship are applied to prove a foregone conclusion, rather than to investigate the facts of the case.

The author himself is quite aware of the fact that his book is bound to invite such criticism, and does his best to forestall it. His *Recapitulation*, for instance, opens with the following paragraph: 'Our research has come to an end. We have examined the evidence found in the Nikāyas for the *attā* as well as for the *anattā*. We have as far as possible let the texts speak for themselves and we have taken into account, if not 'all' the available evidence, at least the greatest part of it. We are not conscious of having eluded any piece of evidence because it did not fit into our preconceived scheme of ideas. We must however confess in all sincerity that the result of our research was from the beginning present in our minds as a 'hypothesis', as an instrument of work. The idea of this hypothesis had presented itself to us in our previous partial readings of the Nikāyas. But to have a hypothesis as the backbone of one's own research is not only legitimate but advisable. We think that the accusation levelled by T.R.V. Murti against Mrs. Rhys Davida and others that 'it will not do to pick up only those passages that are favourable to our theory and ignore the rest, or call them interpolations or later accretions,' does not apply to us. If we have done anything of that sort we have done it after giving reasons which to us seemed convincing' (p.301).

I have quoted the paragraph at length because it illustrates very clearly the author's characteristic style of argumentation. It is worth examining a little more closely. The crux of the passage is the (hopefully disarming?) admission that the result of the research was present in the author's mind from the very beginning. However, a subtle distinction is made between this, which is called working with a 'hypothesis', and quite respectable, and the holding of a 'preconceived scheme of ideas', which is not. This is rather like the current debate about the use of terrorist methods - one man's 'terrorist' is another's 'freedom fighter'. It all depends which side you're on.

One can readily agree that a hypothesis is 'not only legitimate but advisable' in fields such as the natural and exact sciences, where objectively agreed, precise standards of verification exist (such as repeatable experiments, and strictly mathematical demonstrations). In the humanities, on the other hand, where no such verification is possible, and especially when dealing with matters of textual and ideological interpretation, the researcher's essential requirement is surely an open mind - the willingness to let the texts speak for themselves without a 'hypothesis' which will, to a greater or lesser extent, inevitably colour their meaning with the 'preconceived ideas' of which the hypothesis is composed.

My contention is that this is precisely what Dr Pérez-Remón has done. He has gone to the texts with a preconceived notion (hypothesis) that 'Nikāyan Buddhism professes as its central tenet the ontological separation of the self from the non-self' (- this categorical formulation is from p.243, but the view is evident from the very first pages of the book) and has, of course found confirmation for it. Even though he cannot adduce one single instance where this is stated in so many words, and is thus reduced to the conclusion that 'in the Nikāyas, the true self is ever silently [my emphasis] present and its reality is never brought into question' (p.299). (Not a very good argument, this. If I never explicitly deny that the moon is made of green cheese, can this really be taken to mean that I think it is?)

The author is quite aware of the inherent weakness of his position, and does his best to anticipate likely criticism with

the carefully qualified statement: 'We have as far as possible [my emphasis] let the texts speak for themselves'. This sounds quite innocuous, even obvious, but is really quite a considerable disclaimer. If you say you have done your best 'as far as possible', it is churlish for anyone else to come along and complain that you have not done more, or better. So the would-be critic is placed in a quandary. If I don't complain, I am implicitly accepting the author's argument. If I do, I'm being churlish. Fr Pérez-Remón is very good at setting up this kind of double blind.

Then he goes on: 'We are not conscious of having eluded any piece of evidence because it did not fit into our preconceived scheme of ideas'. One gladly grants that he has amassed a lot of material and gone through it in detail. The problem is not prior rejection because it did not fit, but the way in which it has been made to fit by the application of extremely well developed (but not necessarily convincing) linguistic, philosophical and debating skills. And here is another typical quandary lying in wait for the unfortunate critic: to say that 'one is not conscious' of having done wrong creates a similar situation to that implied in 'as far as possible'. If the critic accepts the qualification, he is accepting the main clause, i.e. that no evidence has been excluded because it did not fit in with the preconception. If he rejects the qualification, he is being unreasonable since one, quite clearly, cannot expect anyone's awareness to be greater than it actually is.

Finally, the categorical disclaimer: 'The accusation that "it will not do [to use evidence selectively]"... does not apply to us'. Immediately followed by the careful qualification that, if the author has in fact done anything of the sort, 'we have done it after giving reasons which seemed to us convincing'. Again, one can hardly blame someone for doing something for reasons he finds convincing. But, of course, if one is not convinced by those reasons, one is not likely to find the subsequent argument very convincing either.

So, in the end, what does this justification really amount to? Something, I submit, like: 'I started with a preconceived idea (hypothesis). I examined a comprehensive corpus of material

in the light of that idea, and found it confirmed'. However, this is simply a sort of self-fulfilling exercise. The author has found what he was looking for, which is fine for him but does not help the rest of us much. Pérez-Remón is uneasily aware of this. So, all along, he finds himself resorting, to improve his position, to techniques of persuasive argumentation - familiar to veteran debaters - which are more suitable for scoring than for proving points. Two in particular:

(1) One consists in the use of hypothetical arguments (hypotheses again!) from which suitable conclusions can then be drawn. There is a good example of this as soon as one opens the book (underlining added by me): 'If the belief in *absolute anattā* had been established right from the beginning as one of the pillars of Buddhist dogma, and that in contradistinction to all existing systems, then tradition would have felt an instinctive abhorrence for the use of the term attā, which would have had a jarring effect on the ears and minds of the composers, the compilers and the reciters. If such had been the case, we may well argue that the use of the term attā would have been confined to a bare minimum and never extended beyond a scanty and conventional, and therefore not very meaningful, use of it' (p.3).

Frankly, to postulate 'instinctive abhorrence' for a certain term on the part of people who lived two and a half millennia ago, and to speculate on its 'jarring effect' on their ears and minds might be claimed as a striking case of empathy across the ages. However, being totally unverifiable, it can certainly not be regarded as a sound basis for drawing any conclusions. Yet the conclusion that the author does draw from it, namely 'that the use of the term attā would have been confined to a bare minimum and never extended beyond a scanty and conventional, and therefore not very meaningful, use of it' is basic to the whole later argument that, since the term attā does in fact appear quite frequently in important contexts, it 'stands for something of the greatest importance, this being incompatible with a more conventional use of the term' (p.20).

(2) The second, and rather more insidious technique is the use of what I may call, with all due respect, question-begging language, i.e. phraseology which, by its very form, prejudices the

issue, implicitly assuming as given what is, purportedly, to be found out. We do not need to go beyond the same page 3 to find a classic instance of this. After quoting Piyadassi Thera's orthodox definition of *anattā* as 'the mere denial of an attā, the non-existence of ātta', Pérez-Remón comments: 'This is an issue that has to be decided not *a priori*, but after a careful study of the texts and after determining the way attā and anattā are used in them'. So far, so good. But then he slips in his own *a priori* assertion (using a simile - the horns of a rabbit - drawn, I believe, from the tradition of scholastic logic): '*Anattā* is the denial of something unreal, as when one denies the existence of 'the horns of a rabbit'. It is the denial of something positive'. But surely this is what we were setting out to investigate? And he goes on: 'we shall discover in the texts an irreconcilable opposition and polarity between attā, the true self [!], and anattā, which as a noun stands for something positive and opposed to attā, 'the non-self'.'

That a noun, by definition, 'stands for something positive' is itself a far from evident proposition, but I shall not go into this now. What must be noted is that the key concept of the book, the 'true self', having now been introduced at the earliest opportunity, is off and running. It will henceforth reappear time and again throughout the book as the basic assumption in the interpretation of the language and meaning of the texts. And its ubiquitousness will also, through the sheer mechanism of repetition, tend to fix it increasingly in the reader's mind.

Of course, an eloquent plea is no guarantee of the truth or justice of the case. It simply demonstrates the skill of the advocate. For Pérez-Remón's skill one can have nothing but admiration. For his industry in making a complete survey of every reference to attā and related terms in the Nikāyas one must be truly grateful. It is an impressive effort and constitutes a positive contribution to the study of the canonical texts by bringing together so much important material. But his conclusions, as I said before, are vitiated from the start. In fact, *Self and Non-Self in Early Buddhism* may well be regarded as a monumental display of the power and persuasiveness of *diṭṭhi*

(a subtly argued form of *sassata diṭṭhi*, the eternalist view, in this case), demonstrating how effectively a previously formed, deeply held view can colour the interpretation of texts.

Amadeo Solé-Leris

Ed.: The latest full-length work on *anattā* is by K.P. Sinha, *Nairatmya-Vada*, The Buddhist Theory of Not-Self (Calcutta 1985), whilst a short doctrinal overview is provided by Y. Krishnan, 'Buddhism and Belief in *Ātmā*' (*Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7, 2, Madison 1984, p.117).

Death and Dying: the Tibetan Tradition. Glenn H. Mullin. Arkana (Routledge), London 1986. xvi, 251 pp. £5.95.

Death, Intermediate State and Rebirth in Tibetan Buddhism. Lati Rinpoche and Jeffrey Hopkins. Rider (Century Hutchinson), London 1980; repr. Snow Lion, Ithaca (New York) 1985. 86 pp. \$6.95.

The Buddha is recorded in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* as having said: 'Of all footprints, the footprint of the elephant is supreme. Of all meditations, meditation on death is supreme'. These two excellent books, therefore, offer us very valuable food for thought. The general Buddhist view of death is clearly and simply put forward by Mullin in the opening chapters of his book in which he contemplates this and contrasts it with the attitude prevalent in the West. As he says: 'Death and dying is only a morose subject at face value; it also has its wonderful and amazing side'. Western society, however, chooses to shy away from death and to protect its children from witnessing it. We try to pretend through euphemisms and discreet ceremonial that it does not really happen and we create in our minds the illusion of personal immortality. The Buddhist view, however, is just the opposite. Indeed, Buddhist teachings make it quite clear that if one is to lead a happy, healthy and wholesome life it is vital to maintain an awareness of the fragility of one's life-span in all that one does. As Geshe Dargye says here in Chapter 2: 'If on waking up in the morning one does not meditate on death, the entire morning is wasted. Similarly, if we don't meditate on death in the evening, the night will be lost to meaningless pursuits.'

In his Introduction, Mullin identifies seven main categories

of Tibetan literary material concerned with death and dying and these he lists as: 1) Instructive manuals for the purpose of guiding trainees in death meditation during this lifetime. Such teachings include the contemplations of the corpse that are so familiar in all Buddhist traditions as a way of overcoming attachment to one's own or another's body, as well as texts that help to familiarise the practitioner with death through a scientific analysis of its process. The second book listed above (the short text by Lati Rinpoche) is of this type. It gives a detailed outline of the death process in terms of the dissolution of the material elements and the five *skandhas* of which the living body is composed. Naturally, this process is also touched upon by Mullin but in no great detail, as he himself refers his readers to this second book. Lati Rinpoche also deals with the way in which the consciousness of the deceased enters the womb in order to be reborn into its next life, which is an area not touched upon by Mullin at all. Lati treats his subject without any of the trace of humour demonstrated by Mullin and deals with it only from the philosophical standpoint of the *Vajrayāna*. Mullin, of course, includes all points of view in his work. 2) Poetry and prose that inspire religious practice by making one see clearly the transient nature of mortal existence. (A wonderful little book on this subject was recently published by Tuttle, Tokyo 1986: *Japanese Death Poems* by Yoel Hoffmann.) 3) Inspirational accounts of the deaths of great masters. It is said that the Buddha himself died solely in order to demonstrate to his followers the reality of death and the correct way of facing it. 4) Divination manuals for predicting the time of one's own death, be it far or near. 5) Texts dealing with yogic techniques for the attainment of a long life. 6) Methods for training the mind in the transference of consciousness to a suitable *Buddha-field* at the time of one's death. 7) Ritual funerary texts like the famous *Bar do thos sGrol* (The Tibetan Book of the Dead) that are designed to be recited in aid of the deceased.

Mullin has chosen nine passages from indigenous Tibetan literature as illustrative of these various genres and these are presented here in translation. Each of the latter is prefaced by a most interesting anecdote explaining why the chosen passages came to be written and how it finally came to be included in

the present work. The tone of the book is warm, friendly and humorous throughout. The passages themselves are well chosen and translated into the very readable English that has ensured the author's popularity as a writer and translator over several years. The book's 'popular' theme is enhanced by its garish paperback cover featuring a Robert Beer painting of a skeleton happily meditating whilst being cremated. I, for one, find the painting delightful but I wonder how many will agree with me? The Sanskrit words and phrases that appear here and there throughout the book are, however, appallingly inaccurate and their spellings should on no account be trusted.

This is a book that offers itself with no pretence to lofty academic scholarship but is aimed instead squarely at Buddhist practitioners and anyone else who may be interested in Buddhist thoughts on death. It presents an excellent anthology of teachings on death and dying that are sure to elicit appropriate beneficial responses in the minds of all who read it thoughtfully. This is a very useful book for anyone who is not immortal or who has friends and family who are not immortal. I would recommend it highly as a welcome addition to anyone's bookshelf.

Martin Boord

The Opening of the Lotus - Developing Clarity and Kindness. Lama Sherab Gyaltsen Amipa. Wisdom Publications, London 1987. 175 pp. £6.95.

This book covers the main points of practice and understanding on the path to Enlightenment, thereby touching on themes common to all Tibetan Buddhist traditions: bodhicitta, wisdom, karma, refuge, etc. There is a section on preliminary rituals which includes the taking of refuge, prostration and Guru yoga and a detailed description and explanation of the maṇḍala offering.

The author, a Sakya lama, includes the fundamental Sakya text, 'Parting from the Four Attachments', as well as a brief account of the Sakya tradition and, finally, an enchanting account of his life up to the present time told in that wonderfully factual style that Tibetans have of just listing event after event without any regard to literary pretension, yet without arrogance or false humility.

The book lacks an editor and this is at times evident. Certain choices of word or phrase could easily be misconstrued by the newcomer to Buddhism. Also, the continuity from one section to the next is at times difficult to understand. Despite the absence of an editor or maybe because of it, the text maintains a quaint and humble style that at once earns the reader's respect. Much advice on practice, for example, begins with the words, 'Let us...'. Because of its seemingly arbitrary format it can be regarded as a collection of advice and practice that can be opened at any page for meaningful instruction.

Gavin Kilty

Prayer Flags - The Life and Spiritual Teachings of Jigten Sumgön. Khenpo Könchog Gyaltsen. Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca (New York) 1984, repr. 1986. 95 pp. \$6.95.

Jigten Sumgön was the founder of the Drikung Kagyu, a subschool of the Kagyu tradition, one of the four great lineages of Tibetan Buddhism, and which originated in Tibet with Marpa the translator, whose teachers included the great Indian pandit Nāropa. Marpa's most illustrious disciple was Jetsün Milarepa, a legend in Tibet. He in turn taught Gampopa who had also imbibed the Kadam tradition from the Indian pandit Atīśa. From Gampopa came the four elder lineages of the Kagyu and from one of these - the Phagdrü Kagyu, founded by Phagmo Drupa - came the eight younger lineages. Of these eight one was the Drikung Kagyu and the subject of this book.

The initiator and translator of this book is the Abbot Könchog Gyaltsen, a scholar and meditator in the Drikung tradition. As well as translating the life of Jigten Sumgön, he has included the biographies of Gampopa and Phagmo Drupa - Jigten Sumgön's main teacher. The second half of the book contains a selection of Jigten Sumgön's Vajra songs and a brief exposition of the Fivefold Profound Path of Mahāmudra, the main philosophy and practice of the Kagyu tradition.

Like most Tibetan biographies, this one is replete with miracles and mysterious happenings which accompany the events surrounding the subject's life. During one discourse Jigten Sumgön actually stopped the sun from sinking so that he could finish

his teachings. His visions and his ability to communicate with other realms are astonishing. His songs are terse, profound and reverberate with typical Mahāmudra themes such as non-duality and non-effort, subjects very open to misinterpretation by the ininitiated. Likewise, the section on Mahāmudra philosophy and practice is brief and to the point, going straight to the nature of reality and of the mind. All this is in keeping with the Kagyu emphasis on practice and intense meditation. A three-year uninterrupted meditational retreat is standard practice for a Kagyupa (a devotion which the translator has successfully performed).

The translator states that he has brought this book out for the many Westerners interested in Buddhism, 'to kindle the flame of their understanding'. Westerners are of many types. Followers of the Kagyu tradition will obviously revere this book and others whose dispositions incline them towards the kind of approach Mahāmudra offers will likewise be inspired. Yet I wonder what others will make of the many miracles and magical events portrayed in the biographical section. We live in a scientific age where rationality is the cornerstone of much of our thinking. The editor, in his Foreword, is aware of this when he suggests that these seemingly fantastic occurrences can be taken symbolically or literally. Symbolically, in the same way that fairy tales make use of magical occurrences to express certain moral points. I think he means metaphorically rather than symbolically, for the jewel that turns into a frog (an instance in the book) would mean that the jewel was ultimately worthless because it was stolen, whereas honesty is far more precious than any jewel. Likewise, footprints left in rocks would be metaphors for lasting influences left behind by these great lamas. And so on. Literally, because such fantastic events continue to be reported these days by unbiased Western observers and also because a deep study of Buddhism will reveal that objective reality is not something unconnected with the nature of the mind, a topic that modern science is gradually getting around to.

The book, consisting entirely of translations of original Tibetan texts, was obviously not written for scientifically-minded Westerners but presumably the translator chose these texts in order to give his readers a taste of the practice and practiti-

oners of the Drikung Kagyu lineage. They are certainly fascinating enough to inspire the interested reader to search out more information on this noble tradition.

Gavin Kilty

Journal of the Pali Text Society. Volumes X and XI. PTS, London 1985, 1987. vii, 226; v, 159 pp. £12.25 each.

As part of the Pali Text Society's centenary celebrations, the twenty-three volumes of the *Journal*, which had been out of print for many years, were reprinted in eight volumes, and Volume IX of the *Journal* was published in 1981 with contributions invited from leading scholars in the fields of Pāli and Theravāda Buddhism. Sufficient interest was aroused by this for the Council of the Society to decide to continue publication of the *Journal* on an *ad hoc* basis, as and when sufficient material of a publishable standard was received. Since that time Volume X (1985) and XI (1987) have appeared.

The Council decided that the *Journal* should publish short Pāli texts, translations and commentaries on texts, catalogues and handlists of Pāli books and manuscripts, and similar material, and the contents of these two volumes very much follow these guidelines. They include an edition of the Paramatthavinicchaya (X, 1-22), made by A.P. Buddhaddatta shortly before his death, and held since 1962 awaiting a convenient place to publish it, and one of the Saddabindu (XI, 79-109), a short grammatical text, by F. Lottermoser. There are translations of the Nāmarūpasamāso (XI, 5-31) by H. Saddhātissa, and of the Pañcagatidīpanī (XI, 131-59) by Mrs A.A. Hazlewood. O. von Hinüber has contributed two articles about exciting finds of early manuscripts in Thailand, one on two Jātaka manuscripts (X, 1-22) and the other on the oldest dated manuscript of the Milindapañha yet found (XI, 111-19).

Textual and etymological studies in these two volumes include a discussion of the words *kalyāṇamitta* and *kalyāṇamittatā* (XI, 51-72) by S. Collins, two sets of lexicographical studies (X, 23-36; XI, 33-49) by the present reviewer, and an investigation of the mysterious compound *vegga-missaka* (perhaps an error for *vedha-missaka*), used by the Buddha to describe his body, by R.

Gombrich (XI, 1-4). The last-named also contributes an investigation of the use of a pericope, a passage which has become standardised and used as a unit to build up (inappropriately) other texts (XI, 73-8). Phra Khantipālo contributes a detailed subject index to the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (X, 37-154), and W. Pruitt writes about references to Pāli in seventeenth century French books (XI, 121-31) and finds a reference earlier than that made by Simon de La Loubère in 1691.

Both volumes include a notice inviting scholars to submit papers falling within the fields specified. Contributors are asked, wherever possible, to present their papers in a camera-ready copy form. The two volumes under review show variations in type face which indicates that contributors are already doing this. The overall appearance of the volumes is perhaps not enhanced thereby, but if the result is a reduction in the cost of production and, consequently, in selling price, then it is surely acceptable.

K.R. Norman

Indian Studies (Selected Papers). Gustav Roth. Seventieth Birthday felicitation volume ed. Heinz Bechert and Petra Kieffer-Pulz. Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica No.32, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi 1986. xxxv, 468 pp; xxix plates. Rs.450.

The publication of collections of papers is an undertaking most welcomed by experts in the field, but usually shied away from by publishers who tend to regard them as commercially unrewarding and therefore usually require a substantial subsidy for bringing them out. It is therefore remarkable that the publishers of the Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica have for some time been successfully bringing out such collections on a commercial basis, often in the form of Festschriften to individuals like the present one.

The recipient of this particular tribute has a special claim to recognition by wider circles in India on account of his far-ranging activities during some ten years of residence there. Born in Germany in 1916 and educated at the Universities of Leipzig and Halle, Roth was lucky enough to spend the war years as a translator and interpreter of Oriental languages, for a time with a unit of the so-called Indian National Army of Subhas Chan-

dra Bose stationed in occupied France. He obtained his Ph.D. in Munich in 1952 for a thesis in Jaina studies and in the same year arrived in India as a beneficiary of a Government of India scholarship. When it expired he survived by teaching German in the Science College of Patna University, later to become a lecturer in German at St Xavier's College in Calcutta. During his years in India he studied archaeology and ancient Indian history, continued his Jaina studies, read rare Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, especially while staying in Kathmandu where he also studied Buddhist and Hindu iconography, perfected his knowledge of Tibetan and was also engaged in various cultural activities.

Back in Germany, from 1959 he held various research lectureship appointments, most of them in Göttingen, until his retirement in 1981; from 1982 till 1985 he was Director of the Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research at Patna. Again retired, but by no means idle, he now lives in Lengler in West Germany.

The bibliography of Roth's works has forty-seven items (besides nine reviews), two of them monographs: the first one is, in fact, his doctoral thesis published in Wiesbaden thirty-one years after its submission, and the second is the highly acclaimed first ever edition of the Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya of the Mahāśāṃghikas (Patna 1970). The present collection itself contains twenty-seven articles and eight reviews of different length and value, but all of them of great interest to the specialist, some in English and some in German. Ten articles deal with Buddhist materials. There is a study of the terminology in the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins, another of a term denoting a saint and later the saviour in Jaina and Buddhist sources, and a further philological investigation of an enclitic particle in the Lokottaravādin Vinaya and in the inscriptions of Aśoka, which is not without bearing on our understanding of Aśoka's attitude to religions other than Buddhism - a theme to which he later returned in another study. His knowledge of the Lokottaravāda texts is reflected in two further philological contributions.

From his iconographical studies we have two papers on the stūpa. One is called 'Symbolism of the Buddhist Stūpa according

to the Tibetan version of the *Caitya-vibhāga-vinodbhāva-sūtra*, the Sanskrit treatise *Stūpalakṣaṇa-kārikā-vivecana*, and a corresponding passage in Kuladatta's *Kriyāsaṅgraha*, which starts with the account given in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* by the Buddha to Ānanda about how to dispose of his corpse. It is one of the textually best documented studies on the symbolism of the stūpa, accompanied by three graphic illustrations and several plates. The second study, on the stūpa as described by Kṣemaṅkara, shows that the text reflects a certain intermediary stage in the development of the Buddhist stūpa. For a historian of religions the most interesting paper is 'The Birth of a Saviour related in Buddhist, Christian, Islamic and Jaina Traditions'. It is an investigation of stories surrounding the birth of the Buddha, as related mainly in the *Nidānakathā*, partly corroborated by Aśoka's inscription on his pillar at Lumbinī, and of Christ as known not only from Biblical sources, but also from the Qur'an and the wider Islamic tradition which differs from the Biblical one in certain features which eventually crept into depictions of the Nativity of Christ by some late mediaeval European artists. Finding clear similarities between the *Nidānakathā* account of the birth of the Buddha and the Islamic version of Christ's nativity, he concludes that the Buddhist version apparently influenced the Islamic one and from there entered Europe. Another feature of Christ's nativity has a parallel in Jaina accounts of the birth of Makkhali Gosāla, the religious leader of the Ajīvika (and it is later referred to also in a commentary by Buddhaghosa). Arguing for the great antiquity of this feature, Roth concludes that there was a pattern of the birth of saviours developed in India which spread, with a number of variations, as far as Palestine.

It is perhaps not quite proper to review reviews, but it may be worth mentioning that I find the reviews of two works of David Seyfort Ruegg (*La théorie du Tathāgātagarbha et du Gotra* and *Le traité du Tathāgātagarbha de Bu ston Rin chen grub*) particularly helpful.

It is obvious that the author did not have an entirely smooth and comfortable academic career and that his work must have suffered from the necessity of having to earn his living in India by teaching German, but he has had an interesting life and has

produced some research results of lasting value. This book is a well deserved tribute to him as well as a service to Indian studies.

Karel Werner

Was ist der Weg - er liegt vor deinen Augen. Zen-Meditation im japanischen Garten ('What is the Way? It is right in front of you. Zen Meditation in Japanese Gardens'). Rudolf Seitz, with contributions by Kim Lan Thai and Masao Yamamoto. Kösel-Verlag, Munich 1985. 176 pp., including 72 monochrome plates. N.P.

Joel Matsukura, Abbot of the world-famous Ryōanji Temple in Kyoto, once answered the question as to 'What is Zen?' in the following words: 'Zen is a religion without a personal God... without an idol to worship; Zen is a religion of self-cultivation... by means of which man deepens his self-awareness... through which man intuits his own nature, that is to say, a religion of Satori-enlightenment. Zen is a religion of "Nothingness", "Selflessness" ..., a living religion of work and action... by which man realizes that "the place where he stands is at once the Pure Land"...'. Everybody who has undergone some Zen training knows of the weight given to physical work to be performed in the true spirit of Zen (*samu*). Such work, being part and parcel of Zen training, is mainly directed towards the maintenance of monastic buildings or temples and the gardens surrounding them. The art of laying out, shaping and finally maintaining gardens and, of course, the gardens themselves cultivated in Japan for many centuries, their symbolism and aestheticism are so closely and predominantly related to Buddhism - especially Zen Buddhism - that it appears justified to speak of a Zen art as one of the multi-faceted aspects of Zen Buddhist culture.

The literature in Western languages specifically dealing with Japanese gardens does not seem abundant but includes very fine contributions among which, first of all, must be mentioned Teiji Itoh's *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden* (New York and Tokyo-Kyoto 1973), which is a translation and adaptation of the Japanese original entitled *Shakkei to Tsuboniwa* (Kyoto 1965). Another more recent work on the same subject is Mark Holborn's *The Ocean in the Sand: Japan: from Landscape to Garden*

(Boulder 1978). We are fortunate to have the present publication in German treating of 'Japanese gardens as works of art', of 'form modelled by means of nature'. *Was ist der Weg* is the result of a happy collaboration between three artists-cum-scholars: Rudolf Seitz, President of the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich; Kim Lan Thai, Assistant Professor in the Department of Philosophy, University of Munich; and Masao Yamamoto, Professor and President of the Academy of Fine Arts in Tokyo, who specializes in Eastern and Western aesthetics. Kim Lan Thai, like M. Yamamoto, is admirably qualified to mediate and promote mutual understanding and appreciation in respect of Oriental and Occidental ways of feeling and thinking, for she is equally at home in both Buddhist and Western philosophy.

What immediately captivates one in the book under review are the magnificent photos taken by R. Seitz, through which he tries to make visible the fascination which those 'places of meditation' evoke. The photos are arranged under eight headings: paths, stones, sand, trees and blossoms, stone-lanterns and gates, walls and pavilions, bridges, water and reflection. Accompanying each plate is a quotation, chiefly from Zen literature, selected by K.L. Thai. These quotations, she states, are not meant to be captions, for such would fix contemplation in finitude. Words and pictures are merely 'skill in means' pointing to the Ineffable and inspiring one actually to tread the path leading to insight-knowledge and realization of Absolute Truth.

The textual part proper of the present work constitutes the introductory portion, namely R. Seitz' Foreword on the fascination of Japanese gardens. Seitz concludes by citing Yamamoto: 'He who contemplates the gardens, is in the Buddha's best of hands.'

M. Yamamoto's essay entitled 'As a European in Japanese Gardens' makes very interesting reading as in it he discusses the origins and development of Japanese horticulture. Before doing so, he refers to the difficulties Westerners are likely to have in appreciating the beauty of traditional Japanese gardens. Thanks to Seitz' photographs, he says, in this book at least such difficulties are overcome; for these photos documenting the 'meeting of a European artist and art professor with traditional Japanese gardens' bespeak the artist's 'keen aesthetic

eye and depth of human feeling' as well as his 'living *Kunstanschauung* based on the great tradition of classical German aesthetics.' Yamamoto also gives reasons for the above-mentioned difficulties. An archaeological discovery unearthed in Japan and known as the Shumisen Stone indicates one of the origins of Japanese horticulture. Shumisen derives from Sanskrit Sumeru, the fabulous mountain in the centre of the world taken by Buddhists for a cosmocentric symbol; in this context man is not thought the 'pearl of creation' to such an extent that he considers nature as an essentially hostile world outside himself and to be subjugated as much as possible. The Omphalos Stone in the Museum of Delphi very much resembles the Shumisen Stone; culturally speaking, however, the former is an anthropocentric symbol reflecting the ancient Greeks' belief in their being the centre - 'at the navel' - of the world. 'The Greeks created the ideal image of the human body as the most outstanding creation of nature.' The Japanese, on the other hand, inspired by Chinese and Korean culture, 'sought to realize the ideal image as the most outstanding creation of nature in their horticulture.'

K.L. Thai's further contribution to *Was ist der Weg* bears the title 'The Clap of One Hand' borrowed from Hakuin Zenji's kōan. It is particularly she who associates R. Seitz' photos with Zen Buddhism by referring to and quoting from Zen classics of Indian, Chinese and Japanese origin. She also explains why monochrome plates have been chosen for this book. Black and white photos are apt to come very close to the Far Eastern art of 'non-colour in which colourlessness is not held to be a negation of colours but the perfection of the chromatic spectrum.' Monochromy is intended to 'reduce the inexhaustible manifoldness of natural colours to their simplest expression.' Monochromy goes hand in hand with the principles underlying Chinese brush and ink works, in which rather the absence of brush and ink is the subtle criterion of the 'divine quality of painting.' This art of non-expression, along with that of monochromy, reminds one of the kōan, The sound of one hand clapping: 'The sound produced by clapping with one hand is a paradox removing things and simultaneously reviving them in their originality.' Although K.L. Thai has intentionally refrained from referring directly to what the photos show, many striking examples of the art of

non-expression could be given as found in the photographs of sand or white gravel gardens among which the Ryōanji Rock-and-Sand Garden is the best known.

The number of printing errors is negligible. Misprints actually needing correction occur in the Sanskrit quotation from the Vajracchedikā Sūtra (p.9, 25-26): for *apras̥thitam... utpādayitavyam... pras̥thitam* read *apratist̥hitam... utpādayitavyam... pratist̥hitam*.

Many thanks are due to the three authors of the present book who have offered an enlightening contribution to the subject in hand. The reviewer may finally be permitted to express a wish and a hope. Due to the fact that K.L. Thai, dealing with Zen Buddhism, hails from Vietnam and that Vietnam has its own Zen culture and history which even antedates that of Japan by roughly speaking 600 years - a surprising revelation for Western students of Buddhism - one feels prompted to request and wish in earnest that she and other qualified Vietnamese scholars, authors and poets try their best and eventually succeed in making accessible to the scholarly world and the interested general public the grandeur of the indigenous Zen tradition of Vietnam; for what is known of it outside Vietnam is next to nothing.

Bhikkhu Pāsādika

Into every life a little Zen must fall. A Christian philosopher looks to Alan Watts and the East. Alan Keightley. Wisdom Publications, London 1986. 194 pp. £6.95.

There is in Christianity, from the Catechetical School of Alexandria of the late second century until the present day, an honourable tradition of attempting to describe and present Christianity in thought-forms and cultures other than its original Judaeo-Aramaic one. In the present book Mr Keightley attempts, in his own words, 'to put some aspects of the straight kind of western philosophical thinking on speaking terms with the experiences which emerged through the development of eastern consciousness movements of the past few decades' (p.17), and I am afraid to say he goes on in the same style for 171 pages.

A small book with such a vast subject will inevitably mean generalizing and making short cuts, but I am at a loss to find

the justification for so many distortions. I cannot judge the accuracy of the Eastern presentation but Western traditional Christianity comes in for some severe mishandling. The whole book is permeated with the idea that an enlightened Eastern notion of 'consciousness' has much to offer poor old tottering Christianity; the idea is taken (hook, line and sinker, I would imagine) from the writings of Alan Watts, whom the author frequently quotes.

His mistake is to muddle traditional Christian thought with popular versions of it. For instance, traditional Christianity does not maintain 'an absolute duality' (p.134), however much this may feature in the sermons of hell-fire preachers. It is not a 'modern brand of gnostics' who believe that the action of the Incarnation raises humanity 'rather than Jesus who is being reduced' (p.126). It was the teachings of perfectly orthodox Fathers of the Church.

In his last chapter the author attempts to postulate a Christianity purged of useless and out-of-date concepts. In its place he would put 'Christ as pointing to a transformed state of consciousness rather than a particular historical person' (p.126). In fact the whole book is about 'a state of consciousness' with no real philosophical discussion of what this means to the East or the West. If his ideas of Buddhism are as muddled as are his ideas about traditional Western Christianity there is, I am afraid, very little here to be taken seriously.

Fr Michael Day



These four booklets expound some of the major topics of the first phase of Indian Buddhism, sometimes referred to as the Hinayana, i.e. the Small Vehicle. The booklets are aimed at the non-specialist general reader who has some acquaintance with Buddhist ideas and who wants to know more without becoming involved in academic detail or translated texts. The material is drawn from both the major sources, i.e. texts and commentaries translated from the Pali and Sanskrit languages. The purpose being to present the basic non-controversial doctrines as recorded and accepted by Indian Buddhists of the first centuries after Sakyamuni Buddha's death. This broad consensus of the early period is described as 'mainstream Buddhism.'

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We welcome contributions to this journal, particularly in the field of early mainstream Buddhism and especially Buddhism in Central Asia except that, since they are adequately covered in other journals, Tibetan studies *per se* should be avoided.

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